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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

VOL. II

(ĀHNIKAS 4 to 6)

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जयत्वण्णामलैविश्वविद्यास्थानमिदं सदा ।
जयतात्सांस्कृती विद्या सदा सर्वैस्समादृता ॥
मुत्तैया जयतु श्रीमान् राजा सर्बिरुदाङ्कितः ।
श्रेष्ठिराष्ट्रस्य राजासौ विद्यास्थानप्रपोषकः ॥

PREFACE

This volume consists of *āhnikas* commencing with the fourth and ending with the sixth, on the *first pāda* of the *first adhyāya* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of *Ācārya Pāṇini*. The points of general interest gathered from this volume are found in the Preface of Vol. I.

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P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri

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VOL. II

FOURTH ĀHNIKA

न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके (1-1-4)

There are, under this *sūtra*, *three* topics independently dealt with by *Mahābhāṣyakāra* and *two* by *Vārttikakāra*. They are:—(1) Is the word *dhātu* necessary? (2) Is the word *ārdhadhātukē* necessary? (3) Is *ārdhadhātukē*, the *viśeṣaṇa* of *lōpa* in the *sūtra* or *guṇavṛddhī* taken here from the previous sūtra or both? (4) Is the enumeration of the parts of a *dhātu* whose elision is taken into consideration here necessary or no? (5) Is this *sūtra* necessary or no?

1. **धातुग्रहणं किमर्थम्?**

What for is the mention of *dhātu* (in the sūtra)?

इह मा भूत्—लूञ् - लविता, लवितुम्; पूञ् - पविता, पवितुम्।

(It is mentioned) so that the *sūtra* may not operate in the formations *lavitā* and *lavitum* derived from the root *lūñ* and in *pavitā* and *pavitum* derived from the root *pūñ*.[1]

Here *dhātu* should be taken to mean *dhātvaṁśa* by *lakṣaṇā*.

1. Suppose *dhātu* is not mentioned in the *sūtra*. Since in the formations *lūñ+tṛc* and *lūñ+tumun*, the *anubhandha ñ* is dropped, *ū* cannot take *guṇa*. Consequently we can have the formations *lūtā* and *lūtum*; but the forms current in the world are *lavitā* and *lavitum*. Same will be the case with respect to *pavitā* and *pavitum*.

2. आर्धधातुक इति किमर्थम्?

What for is the word *ārdhadhātuka*?

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति [1]

Otherwise this sūtra will operate and affect the formation of *rōravīti* where *u* of the root *ru* cannot take *guṇa* since it is followed by the *sārvadhātuka ti*.

3. किं पुनरिदम् आर्धधातुकग्रहणं लोपविशेषणम् — आर्धधातुकनिमित्ते धातुलोपे सति ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतः ते न भवत इति, आहोस्वित् गुणवृद्धिविशेषणम् आर्धधातुकग्रहणम् — धातुलोपे सति आर्धधातुकनिमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतः ते न भवत इति ।

Is *ārdhadhātuka* to be taken as the adjunct of *lōpa* so that the *sūtra* may mean that the *guṇa* and the *vṛddhi* which are due on the elision of a part of a *dhātu* on account of the presence of an *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya* after it do not make their appearance? Or is *ārdhadhātuka* to be taken as the adjunct of *guṇavṛddhī* so that the *sūtra* may mean that the *guṇa* and the *vṛddhi* which are due on account of the presence of *ārdhadhātuka* after it do not make their appearance, if a portion of *dhātu* is dropped? [2]

किं चातः ?

What difference will it make?

यदि लोपविशेषणम्, उपेद्धः - प्रेद्धः अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

If it is the adjunct of *lōpa*, this *sūtra* will operate in the formations *upēddha* and *prēddha* and affect them, (*i e.*) the final

1. *Rōravīti* is the third person singular, present, of the root *ru* in *yaṅluk*. By the sūtra *Dhātōrēkācō halādēḥ*....(3-1-22), the pratyaya *yaṅ* is used; *guṇō yaṅlukōḥ* (7–4–82) sanctions the *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa*; *yaṅō* ऽ *ci ca* (2–4–74) sanctions the *lōpa* of *yaṅ*.

2. *Kāiyaṭa* says that there are three alternatives here :—*ārdhadhātuka-grahaṇam lōpaviśēṣaṇam, guṇavṛddhiviśēṣaṇam vā, bahuvrīhipakṣē tu ubhayaviśēṣaṇam vā iti pakṣatrayasambhavāt praśnaḥ.*

a of *upa* or *pra* and the initial *i* of the root *indh* cannot take the *ēkādēśa ē*. (For *n* of *indh* has been dropped on account of the presence of the *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya kta* after it.)[1]

अथ गुणवृद्धिविशेषणम्, क्नोपयति इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

If it is the adjunct of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, this *sūtra* will operate in the formation of *knōpayati* also and affect it (*i.e.*) *ū* of *knūy* cannot take *guṇa* since of the final *y* is dropped before the *āgama puk*.[2]

यथेच्छसि तथास्तु ।

Let it be as you please.

अस्तु लोपविशेषणम् ।

Let it (*ārdhadhātukē*) be the adjunct of *lōpē*.

कथम् उपेद्धः प्रेद्ध इति ?

How is it possible to arrive at the forms *upēddhaḥ* and *prēddhaḥ*?

बहिरङ्गो गुणः, अन्तरङ्गः प्रतिषेधः, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ।

Since *bahiraṅgakārya* is considered non-existent when *antaraṅgaśāstra* is to operate and since *guṇa* is *bahiraṅga* and *pratiṣēdha* is *antaraṅga*, the *ēkādēśa guṇa* in place of *a* and *i* is not affected.[3]

यद्येवं, नार्थो धातुग्रहणेन ।

If so, no purpose is served by the mention of *dhātu*.

इह कस्मान्न भवति ;—लूञ् , लविता लवितुम्; पूञ्, पविता पवितुम् ।

1. *N* of *indh* is dropped by the *sūtra aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti* (6–4–24) and *a*+*i* becomes *ē* by *ād guṇaḥ* (6–1–87.)

2. The root *knūy* takes *ṇic* after it by the *sūtra hētumati ca* (3–1–26) and the *āgama puk* after it by the sūtra *arti-hrī-vlī-rī knūyī-kṣmāyyātām puṅ ṇāu* (7–3–36). *y* is dropped by the *sūtra lōpō vyōrvali* (6–1–66) and *u* takes *guṇa* by the *sūtra pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7–3–86).

3. According to this, *iddha* is first formed and then the *upasargas upa* and *pra* are added to it. If the upasargas are first added to the root *indh* before it takes *kta* pratyaya, the *guṇa* that has come cannot be nullified.

How is it not then that the *sūtra* (*na dhātulōpa ārdha-dhātukē*) operates here and affects the formations *lavitā*, *lavitum*, *pavitā* and *pavitum* ?

आर्धधातुकनिमित्ते लोपे प्रतिषेधः, न चैष आर्धधातुकनिमित्तो लोपः ।

There is prohibition (of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*) only when the elision (of a part of the root) is due to the presence of *ārdha-dhātuka pratyaya* and the elision of *ñ* in *lūñ* and *pūñ* is not due to it.

अथवा पुनरस्तु गुणवृद्धिविशेषणम् ।

Or let it be the adjunct of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*.

ननु चोक्तं क्नोपयति इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

Has it not been said that, in that case, the prohibition will affect the form *knōpayati* ?

नैष दोषः, निपातनात् सिद्धम् ।

This objection cannot stand ; its form is definitely decided from its mention by the *Sūtrakāra*.

किं निपातनम् ?

Where is it mentioned ?

चेले क्नोपेः इति ।

In the *sūtra cēlē knōpēḥ* (3, 4, 33).

Note : 1.—By taking recourse to the *paribhāṣa* '*asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅgē*' and the validity of *nipātana*, Mahābāṣyakāra decides that the *sūtra* may be read '*na lōpa ārdhadhātukē*.'

Note : 2.—He then begins to explain the views of the *Vārttikakāra* as below.

4. परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् — यङ्यक्क्यवलोपे प्रतिषेधः ।

Enumeration is necessary—The prohibition operates when there is elision of the *pratyayas yaṅ, yak, kya* and *va* within the verbal stems).

यङ्यक्क्यवलोपे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः — यङ्[1] बेभिदिता[2], मरीमृजः[3]; यक्[1] कुषुभिता[4], मगधकः[5]; क्य[1] समिधिता,[6] दृषद्कः[7]; वलोपे जीरदानुः[8]

It needs mention that prohibition takes places when there is elision of *yaṅ, yak, kya* and *va*. The examples where there is the *lōpa* of *yaṅ* are *bēbhiditā* and *marīmrja ḥ;* those where there is the *lōpa* of *yak* are *kuṣubhitā* and *magadhakaḥ*; those where there is the *lōpa* of *kya* are *samidhitā* and *dṛṣadakaḥ* and that where there is the *lōpa* of *va* is *jīradānuḥ*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

Why ?

नुम्लोपस्त्रिव्यनुबन्धलोपेऽप्रतिषेधार्थम्

1. Better to have the reading *yaṅlōpē, yaglōpē* and *kyalōpē* in place of *yaṅ yak* and *kya* in the text.

2. *Bhid* is the root, it takes *yaṅ* after it by the *sutra dhātōrēkācō halādēḥ kriyāsamabhihārē yaṅ* (3–1–22) : it is doubled by the *sūtra san yaṅōḥ* (6–1–9) ; *bēbhidya* takes *trc* by *ṇvultrcāu* (3, 1, 133) and *ya* is dropped by *yasya halah* (6–4–49).

3. *Mrj* is the root. After taking *yaṅ* and after reduplication it takes *ṇvul* by 3–1–133 and *ya* is dropped by the *sūtra* yaṅō ʃci ca (2–4–74).

4. *Kuṣubha* is the root ; it takes *yak* by *kaṇḍvādibhyō yak* (3, 1, 27) and *tṛc* by *ṇvultrcāu. ya* is dropped by *yasya halaḥ* (6, 4, 49)

5. *Magadha* is the root ; it takes *yak* by 3–1–27 and *ṇvul* by (3, 1, 133). *ya* is dropped by *yasya halaḥ*.

6-7. समिध् and दृषद् take *kyac by supa ātmanaḥ kyac ;* the former takes *tṛc* and the latter *ṅvul* and *ya* is dropped by *kyasya vibhāṣā* (6–4–50).

8. *Jīva* is the root ; it takes *radānu* after it ; *va* is dropped by *lōpō vyōr vali* (6, 1, 66).

So that the prohibition (of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*) (ordained by the *sūtra dhātu lōpa ārdhadhātukē*) may not take place when there is the elision of *n*, in the root *srivu* and when there is the elision of *anubandha*.

नुम्लोपे स्रिव्यनुबन्धलोपे च प्रतिषेधो मा भूत् इति ।

So that the prohibition may be avoided at the elision of *n*, with reference to the root *srivu* and at the elision of *anubandha*.

नुम्लोपे — अभाजि [1], रागः [2], उपबर्हणम् [3] ।

The examples where prohibition is ineffective at the elision of *n* are *abhāji*, *rāgaḥ* and *upabarhaṇam*.

स्रिवेः — आस्रेमाणम् [4]

The example where the prohibition is ineffective is the form *āsrēmāṇam* derived from the root *sriv*.

अनुबन्धलोपे —लूञ्, लविता, लवितुम् ।

The examples where the prohibition is ineffective at the elision of *anubandha* are *lavitā* and *lavitum* derived from the root *lūñ*.

यदि परिगणनं क्रियते, स्यदः, प्रश्रथः, हिमश्रथः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

1. The root is *bhaji:* it becomes *bhuñj* by the sūtra *iditō num dhātōḥ*. (7, 1, 58). In the aorist passive third person singular, it takes *cli* by the *sūtra cli luni* (3, 1, 43), which is replaced by *ciṇ* by the *sūtra ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇōḥ* (3, 1, 66); the termination *ta* is dropped by *ciṇō luk* (6, 4, 104); *n* is optionally dropped hy *bhañjēśca ciṇi* (6, 4, 33); *a* takes the *vṛddhi* by *ata upadhāyāḥ* (7, 2, 116.)
2. The root is *rañj*; it takes *ghañ* after it by the *sūtra akartari ca kārakē saṁjñāyām* (3, 3, 19); *n* is dropped by the *sūtra ghañi ca bhāvakaraṇayōḥ* (6, 4, 27); *a* takes its *vṛddhi* by *ata upadhāyāḥ* (7, 2, 116).
3. *Bṛṁh is the root: upa is the upasarga:* it takes *lyuṭ* after it by the *sūtra lyuṭ ca* (3, 3, 115) and *n* is dropped by the *vārttika bṛṁhēr-acyaniṭi* and *ṛ* takes *guṇa* by *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7, 3, 86).
4. *Srivu* is the *dhātu* where *u* is *anubandha;* it has taken *manin* pratyaya after it; *v* is dropped by *lopō vyōr vali* (6, 1. 66).

If the enumeration is done, (*vṛddhi*) will replace *a* of the roots in *syadaḥ*, *praśrathaḥ* and *himaśrathaḥ* (since *n* of *syand* and *śranth* has been dropped like *n* in *bhañj* and *rañj* of the words *abhāji* and *rāgaḥ*)

वक्ष्यत्येतत् निपातनात्स्यदादिषु इति ।

No, it will not be, since he is going to mention that the forms *syada* etc. are known to be the correct ones from his *nipātana* or usage elsewhere.

तर्त्तर्हि परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् ।

Then it is settled that enumeration should be done.

न कर्तव्यम् ।

No, enumeration need not be done.

नुम्लोपे कस्मान्न भवति ?

How will not then the *sūtra na dhātulōpa ārdhadhātukē* operate when there is the elision of *n* (as in *bhañj* and *rañj*)

इक्प्रकरणान्नुम्लोपे वृद्धिः

Since the *sūtra* deals with the prohibition of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* for *ik* (taken here from the previous *sūtra*), *vṛddhi* takes place when there is the elision of *n*.

इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः । न चैषा इग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः ।

Prohibition is intended in the *sūtra* only to such *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* as are ordained for *ik*. This *vṛddhi* (in *bhañj* and *rañj*) is not concerned with *ik*.

यदि इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः, स्यदः, प्रश्रथः हिमश्रथः इत्यत्र न प्राप्नोति, इह च प्राप्नोति अवोदः[1] एधः[2] ओद्मः[3] इति ।

1. *Undī* is the root ; *ava* is the upasarga ; the root takes *ghañ* after it ; *n* is dropped ; when we have *ava*+*ud*+*a*, the *pūrvapakṣin* says that *u*, being *ik* may not take *guṇa* by the *sūtra pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.*

2. *Indhī* is the root ; it takes *ghañ* after it. As in the previous case *i* will not take *guṇa* by the *sūtra pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.*

3. *Undī* is the root and it takes *auṇādika* pratyaya *man* after it.

If the prohibition is intended only to those *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* concerned with *ik,* prohibition will not take place in *syadaḥ, praśrathaḥ* and *himaśrathaḥ,* but it will take place in *avōdaḥ, ēdhaḥ* and *ōdmaḥ.*

निपातनात् स्यदादिषु

Presence or absence of prohibition is decided by the mention of those words in *sūtras* (*syadō javē* (6, 4, 28); *avōdāidhāudmapraśrathahimaśrathāḥ* (6, 4, 29).

निपातनात् स्यदादिषु प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति, न च भविष्यति ।

Presence or absence of *pratiṣēdha* in *syadaḥ* etc. is decided by *nipātana.*

यदि इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः, स्त्रिव्यनुबन्धलोपे कथम्?

If this *sūtra* refers to the prohibition of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* with reference to *ik,* how does it not operate with reference to the root *sriv* and the roots after dropping the *anubhandha.* (*i.e.* the *guṇa* in *āsrēmāṇam* and *lavitā, lavitum, pavitā, pavitum* etc. will be prohibited by this *sūtra*) ?

प्रत्ययाश्रयत्वात् अन्यत्र सिद्धम्

The forms in other cases are not affected, since the *lōpa* mentioned in the *sūtra* refers to that which depends upon the (*ārdhadhātuka*) *pratyaya* that follows it.

आर्धधातुकनिमित्ते लोपे प्रतिषेधः, न चैष आर्धधातुकनिमित्तो लोपः ।

Prohibition is enjoined when the elision depends upon the *ārdhadātuka pratyaya.* The *lōpa* (in *sriv, lūñ, pūñ*) is not due to the *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya.* [1]

यदि आर्धधातुकनिमित्ते लोपे प्रतिषेधः, जीरदानुः [2] अत्र न प्राप्नोति ।

1. The *lōpa* of *v* in *āsrēmāṇam* is due to *val* after it
2. *Jīv* is taken as the root and *radānu,* the *pratyaya* and *v* is dropped by the *sūtra lōpō vyōr vali.*

If the prohibition depends upon the elision due to *ārdha-dhātuka pratyaya,* it cannot apply in the form *jīradānuḥ.*

रकिः ज्यः सम्प्रसारणम्

Ya of *jya* takes *samprasāraṇa* before the *pratyaya rak.*

नैतज्जीवे रूपम्, रकि एतज्ज्यः सम्प्रसारणं भवति[1] ।

This is not derived from the root *jīv* by the addition of *radānu* ; but *jya* takes *samprasāraṇa* before *rak.*

यावता चेदानीं रकि, जीवेरपि सिद्धं भवति ।

If *jīra* is derived from *jya+ra,* it may as well be derived from *jīv+ra.*

कथम् उपबर्हणम् ?

How is it possible to get the form *upabarhaṇam* (from the the root *bṛhi,* since *n* has been dropped on account of the *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya* after it) ?

बृहिः प्रकृत्यन्तरम्

The root *bṛh* (in *upabarhaṇa*) is different from *bṛhi*[2].

कथं विज्ञायते बृहिः प्रकृत्यन्तरमिति ?

How is it known that the root *bṛh* (in *upabarhaṇa*) is different from *bṛhi* ?

अचीति हि लोप उच्यते, अनजादावपि दृश्यते — निबृह्यते । अनिटीति चोच्यते, इडादावपि दृश्यते — निबर्हिता, निबर्हितुम् इति । अजादावपि न दृश्यते, — बृंहयति, बृंहकः ।

1. *Jīradānuh* is taken to be the compound of *jīra* and *dānu,* where *jīra* is formed from *jya+rak* and *dānu* from *dā+nu.*

2. *Kāiyaṭa* shows the *dhātupāṭha* where *bṛha* and *bṛhi* are read to mean to increase.

The elision of *n* in *bṛhi* is said to take place when it is followed by a *pratyaya* beginning with a vowel (in the *vārttika bṛṁhēr aci aniṭi*); but it is seen when it is followed by a non-vowel. Ex. *nibṛhyatē.* It is said that it takes place when it is followed by *aniṭ;* but it is seen when it is followed by *iṭ.* Ex. *nibarhitā, nibarhitum.* Elision is not seen even when it is followedby a vowel. Ex. *bṛmhayati.*

तस्मान्नार्थः परिगणनेन ।

Hence it is not necessary to have the enumeration.

यदि परिगणनं न क्रियते, भेद्यते[1] छेद्यते[2] अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

If the enumeration is not done, the prohibition of *guṇa* will take place in *bhēdyatē* and *chēdyatē* also (since *ṇic* has been dropped in *bhidi* and *chidi.*)

नैष दोषः । धातुलोप इति नैवं विज्ञायते, धातोर्लोपः धातुलोपः, धातुलोपे इति । कथं तर्हि? धातोर्लोपः यस्मिंस्तत् धातुलोपम्, धातुलोपे इति ।

This objection cannot stand; for the expression *dhātulōpē* is not taken as the seventh case of the *tatpuruṣa* compound *dhātulōpa.* What then? It is taken as the seventh case of the *bahuvrīhi* compound *dhātulōpa.* (Here in *bhēdyatē* and *chēdyatē*, the reason for the loss of *ṇic* which forms a part of *dhātu* is the presence of *yak* after it and the *guṇa* is due to the presence of *ṇic.*)

तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः ।

Hence *vṛddhi* in this *sūtra* has reference to that of *ik.*

1. *Bhidir* is the root; it takes *ṇic* after it by *hētumati ca* (3, 1, 26); further after it, it takes *yak* by the *sūtra sārvadhātukē yak* (3, 1, 67); it then takes the *tiṅ tē*; on account of the influence of *ṇic*, *i* of *bhid* takes *guṇa* by the *sūtra pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7, 3, 86); the *ṇic* is then dropped by the *sūtra nēr aniṭi* (6, 4, 51)

2. *Chidir* is the root and the formation of *chēdyatē* is similar to *bhēdyatē.*

यदि तर्हि इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः, पापचकः पापठकः मगधकः दृषद्कः अत्र न प्राप्नोति ।

If the *pratiṣēdha* in the *sūtra* has reference only to *ik*, the *sūtra* will not operate in the formation of the words *pāpacakaḥ* [1], *pāpaṭhakaḥ* [2], *maghadhakaḥ* [3] and *dṛṣadakaḥ* [4]. (*i.e.*) *vṛddhi* will take place through the *sūtra ata upadhāyāḥ* (7, 2, 116) and consequently the forms should be *pāpācakaḥ*, *pāpāṭhakaḥ*, *magādhakaḥ* and *dṛṣādakaḥ*).

अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वात्

(*Vṛddhi* through the *sūtra ata upadhāyāḥ* will not take place) since the *a* elided through the *sūtra a'ō lōpaḥ* takes *sthānivadbhāva*.

अल्लोपे कृते तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् गुणवृद्धी न भविष्यतः ।

Guṇa and vṛddhi do not take place since *lopādēśa* takes *sthānivadbhāva* (*i.e.*) *at* is considered to be existent though it has been elided (and consequently the *a* of *pac* etc. cannot be considered *upadhā*.)

Note: *Vārttikakāra* has decided that *pariganana* is not necessary under the following conditions :—

1. The *sūtra* should be taken to mean *ārdhadhātukanimittē dhātvaṁśālōpē sati, ārdhadhātukanimittē iglakṣaṇē guṇavṛddhī na bhavataḥ.*

1. *Ḍupacas* (*pac*) is the root; it takes *yaṅ* after it by the *sūtra dhātōr ēkācō halādēḥ kriyāsamabhihārē yaṅ* (3, 1, 22), it gets doubled by *sanyaṅōḥ* (6, 1. 9); the *a* of the *abhyāsa* takes *dīrgha* by the *sūtra dīrghōkitaḥ* (7, 4, 83); *pāpacya* takes *aka* by the *sūtra ṇvultṛcāu* (3, 1, 133); *yaṅ* is dropped by the *sūtra yasya halaḥ* (6, 4, 69) and *atō lōpaḥ*.
2. *Paṭha* (*paṭh*) is the root; the derivation of *pāpaṭhakaḥ* is the same as that of *pāpacakaḥ*.
3. *Magadha* takes *yak* and *ṇvul* and *ya* is dropped by *yasya halaḥ* (6, 4, 49.)
4. *Dṛṣadakaḥ* is from *dṛṣad* which takes *kyac* and *ṇvul* after it and *ya* is dropped by *kyasya vibhāṣā* (6. 4, 50).

2. The correctness of the forms *syada* etc. is decided from *nipātana*.

3. The woıd *jiradānuḥ* is not a simple word formed from the root *jīv* and the suffix *radānu*; but it is a compound word made up of two words *jīra* and *dānu*, where *jīra* is formed in either of the two following ways—*jya*+*rak* or *jīv*+*rak*.

4. The word *upabarhaṇam* is not derived from the root *bṛhi*, but is derived from the root *bṛha*.

5. The *upadhāvṛddhi* is avoided by taking recourse to the *sthānivadbhāva* of *a* elided by the *sūtra atō lōpaḥ*.

5. अनारम्भो वा

Or the non-reading (of this *sūtra*).

अनारम्भो वा पुनरस्य योगस्य न्याय्यः ।

Or the reading of this *sūtra* is not necessary.

कथं बेभिदिता, मरीमृजकः, कुसुभिता, समिधिता इति ?

If so, how is it possible to arrive at the forms *bēbhiditā*, *marīmṛjakaḥ*, *kusubhitā* and *samidhitā*? (*i.e.*) how are *guṇa* and *upadhāvṛddhi* avoided ?)

अत्रापि अकारलोपे कृते स्थानिवद्भावाद् गुणवृद्धी न भविष्यतः ।

Here too *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* can be avoided by taking recourse to the *sthānivadbhāva* of the *lōpādēśa* of *at*.

यत्र तर्हि स्थानिवद्भावो नास्ति तदर्थमयं योगो वक्तव्यः ।

This *sūtra* is necessary for such cases as do not admit *sthānivadbhāva*.

क्व च स्थानिवद्भावो नास्ति ।

What are the cases which do not admit *sthānivadbhāva*?

यत्र हल्चोरादेशः — लोलुवः [1], पोपुवः [2], मरीमृजः, [3] सरीसृप [4] इति ।

Where both the consonant and the vowel are together replaced by another, as in *lōluvaḥ*, *pōpuvaḥ*, *marīmṛjaḥ* and *sarīsṛpaḥ*.

अत्रापि अकारलोपे कृते तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् गुणवृद्धी न भविष्यतः ।

Even here let the *akāra* be elided ; if the *lōpādēśa* takes *sthānivadbhāva*, there is no opportunity for *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*.

Note : Instead of taking that both the consonant and the vowel in *ya* are dropped on the strength of the *sūtra yaṅōci ca* (2, 4, 74), let *a* be dropped on the strength of *atō lōpaḥ* (6, 4, 48) and then *y* may be dropped on the strength of *yaṅōci ca*. Though *yaṅōci ca* deals with the elision of *ya*, it may also deal with that of *y*, since the latter may be considered to be the former though there is slight change. *Cf. ēkadēśavikṛtam ananyavad bhavati.*

लुकि कृते न प्राप्नोति ।

If *luk* is first done by the *sūtra yaṅōci ca*, there is no room for *sthānivadbhāva*.

इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम्, लुक् क्रियताम् अल्लोपो वा इति ।

This is to be decided whether *luk* is first to be done or *allōpa*.

1. *Lūñ* is the root ; it takes *yaṅ* after it by the *sūtra dhātōr ēkācō halādēḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ* (3, 1, 22) ; it is doubled by the *sūtra sanyaṅōḥ* (6, 1, 9) ; the *abhyāsa* takes *guṇa* by *guṇō yaṅlukōḥ* (7, 4, 82) ; it takes the *pratyaya ac* by the *sūtra nandigrahipacādibhyō lyuṇinyacaḥ* (3, 1, 134) ; *yaṅ* is dropped by *yaṅōci ca* (2, 4, 74).

2. The formation of *pōpuvaḥ* is exactly the same as *lōluvaḥ*.

3-4. The formation of *marīmṛjaḥ* and *sarīsṛpaḥ* is the same as that of *lōluvaḥ*, except in the point that the *abhyāsa* after taking *ar* by the *sūtra urat* takes the *āgama rīk* by the *sūtra rīg ṛdupadhasya* (7, 4, 90).

किमत्र कर्तव्यम् ।

Which deserves to be done ?

परत्वाद् अल्लोपः

The *lōpa* of *at* should first be done since *atō lōpaḥ* (6, 4, 48) is read after *yaṇōci ca* (2, 4, 74) in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

नित्यो लुक्, कृतेऽप्यल्लोपे प्राप्नोति अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति ।

Luk is *nitya*, since it takes place both when *at* is elided and when it is not.

Note: From the *paribhāṣa para-nitya-antaraṅga-apavādānām uttarōttaram balīyaḥ*, *yaṇōci ca* will operate previous to *atō lōpaḥ* and in that case there is no opportunity for *sthānivadbhāva*.

लुगप्यनित्यः ।

Luk too is *anitya*.

कथम् ?

How ?

अन्यस्य कृते लोपे प्राप्नोति, अन्यस्याकृते; शब्दान्तरस्य प्राप्नुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति ।

It operates on one form when *at* is elided and on another when *at* is not elided; the *vidhi* which operates in one *śabda* on certain conditions and in another *śabda* on a different condition is *anitya*.

अनवकाशस्तर्हि लुक् ।

Then *luk* has no room to operate.

सावकाशो लुक् ।

Luk has room to operate.

कोऽवकाशः ?

Where is the room to operate ?

अवशिष्टः

What remains (*i.e.*) *y* of *ya*.

अथापि कथं चिदनवकाशो लुक् स्याद् एवमपि न दोषः ।

Still if it is said that somehow *luk* will have no room to operate, it is no harm, (*i.e.*) Since it is only secondary (*gāuṇa*) to call *y* as *yaṅ*, the *sūtra yaṅō ʃci ca* will have no room to operate ; hence it has to be taken as an *apavāda* to *ato lōpaḥ*. In that case the argument *allōpasya sthānivattvāt* cannot stand.

अल्लोपे योगविभागः करिष्यते । अतो लोपः (6, 4, 48), ततो यस्य च लोपो भवति, अत इत्येव [1] । किमर्थमिदम् ? लुकं वक्ष्यति [2], तद्बाधनार्थम् [3] । ततो हलः (6, 4, 50) हल उत्तरस्य यस्य च लोपो भवति ।

With reference to the elision of *at*, the *sūtra* (*yasya halaḥ*) will be split into into First the *sūtra atō lōpaḥ* is read ; then *yasya* alone is read, which means the *at* of *ya* is dropped. What for is this ? One may take *luk* by the *sūtra*, (*yaṅōci ca*) as an *apavāda* and this is intended to prevent it. Then *halaḥ* is read as a separate *sūtra*, which means the *y* following a consonant is dropped.

इह तर्हि परत्वाद्योगविभागाद्वा लोपो लुकं बाधेत — कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यदीदम् — नोनुयतेर्नोनाव [4] ।

1. Here *ataḥ* is taken from the previous *sūtra*.

2. अपवादश्च प्रायशः पश्चाद्भावीत्यभिप्रेत्य भविष्यन्निर्देशः (प्रदीपोद्योतने)

3. तद्बाधनार्थम् — समुदायलुग्बाधनार्थम् (*ibid*)

4. *Nu* (*nu*) is the root ; *nōnāva* is the form in the third person singular perfect of the root *nu* in *yaṅluk*. It reduplicates, the abhyāsa takes *guṇa* and *yaṅ* is dropped and *u* takes *vṛddhi* and *ādēśa āv* on account of the verbal termination which is a *ṇit*.

If so, the *lōpa* will set at naught the *luk* in the word *nōnāva* derived from *nōnuyati* in the vedic line *kṛṣṇō nōnāva vṛṣabhō yadīdam.*

समानाश्रयो लुग्लोपेन बाध्यते ।

Luk is set at naught by *lōpa* if both depend upon the same.

कश्च समानाश्रयः ?

What is it which is considered *sāmānāśraya ?*

यः प्रत्ययाश्रयः

It is that which depends upon *pratyaya.*

अत्र च प्रागेव प्रत्ययोत्पत्तेर्लुग्भवति ।

Here *luk* takes place before the *pratyaya* is affixed.

कथं स्यदः, प्रश्रथः, हिमश्रथः, जीरदानुः, निकुचित इति ।

How is then the formation of the words *syadaḥ, praśrathaḥ, himaśrathaḥ, jīradānuḥ* and *nikucitaḥ* ?

उक्तं शेषे

It has been said with reference to the rest.

किमुक्तम् ?

What is it that has been said ?

निपातनात् स्यदादिषु ।

Syadaḥ, praśrathaḥ and *himaśrathaḥ* have their forms decided through *nipātana.*

प्रत्ययाश्रयत्वाद् अन्यत्र सिद्धं रकि ज्यः सम्प्रसारणम् ।

Jīradānuḥ has its form decided by taking *jīra* as a separate word formed from *jya* with the *pratyaya rak,* when *ya* takes *samprasāraṇa.*

निकुचितेऽप्युक्तम् ।

It has been said even with reference to *nikucita*.

किम् ?

What ?

सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ।

The *vidhi* which is responsible for a certain form cannot stand responsible to destroy it. (*i.e.*) the *pratyaya kta* is responsible to change the form of *kuñc* to *kuc* and the same cannot change it to *kōc*.

From the two topics dealt with by *Vārttikakāra*, it seems that, if the *sūtra* is had, he has shown the method of interpreting it and that, if the *sūtra* is not wanted, he suggests that the *sūtra yasya halaḥ* should be split into two. Under the *sūtra yasya halaḥ* (6, 4, 49) *Vārttikakāra* discusses whether *varṇa* or *saṅghāta* (*i.e.*) *y* or *ya* is meant in *yasya* and prefers *varṇagrahaṇa*; but neither he nor *Bhāṣyakāra* has mentioned about *yōgavibhāga*. Besides under the *sūtra dhinvikṛṇvyōra ca* (3, 1, 80); *Mahābhāṣyakāra* says *ārdhadhātukanimittē lōpē sa pratiṣēdhaḥ, na cāiṣa ārdhadhātukanimittō lōpaḥ; api ca pratyākhāyatē khalvapi sa yōgaḥ*. From this and from *vā* in *anārambhō vā* we are led to infer that both *Vārttikākāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* are inclined to have both the views. But Haradatta in his *Padamañjarī* [1] does not favour the *yōgavibhāga* in *yasya halaḥ* and hence is against *pratyākhyānapakṣa*. *Bhattōjidīkṣita* in his *Śabdakāustubha* refutes Haradatta school.

The first three topics dealt with by *Mahābhāṣyakāra* are not quite necessary in the opinion of *Kāiyaṭa*, since he seems to hold the view that the *pratyākhyānapakṣa* alone is favoured

1. अवश्यं समुदायस्य लुगेषितव्यः । एवं च लोलुव इत्यादावपि गुणवृद्धी स्यातामिति सूत्रमपि कर्तव्यम् ।

by *Mahābhāṣyakāra*; consequently *Annambhaṭṭa,* while explaining *Kāiyaṭa's* statement gives the *avatārikā 'padaprayōjanacintā Vṛttikārasya ucitā, na Bhāṣyakṛtaḥ.'* But since *Mahābhāṣyakāra* seems to hold both the views, it may not be wrong if we consider that the first three topics serve as a sort of introduction to the fourth topic.

क्ङिति च (1-1-5)

There are two topics dealt with here:—

1. *Tannimittē* should be read as an adjunct to *guṇavṛddhī.*

2. *Ādēśas* of *lakāra* which are *ṅit* are not entitled to *sthānivadbhāva.*

क्ङिति प्रतिषेधे तन्निमित्तग्रहणम् उपधारोरवीत्यर्थम्

In the prohibition suggested by *kṅiti*, *tannimitta* should be read for the sake of the prohibition to be applied to the penultimate of roots and to the form *rōravīti.*

क्ङिति प्रतिषेधे तन्निमित्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, क्ङिन्निमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतः ते न भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

In the prohibition *kṅiti*, *tannimitta* should be read so that the *sūtra* may mean that the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* which are due by the presence of the suffix *kṅit* do not make their appearance.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

Why?

उपधार्थं रोरवीत्यर्थं च ।

For the sake of penultimate (to the operated by this *sūtra*) and the form *rōravīti.*

उपधार्थं तावत्, भिन्नः, भिन्नवान् इति ।

Firstly for the sake of the penultimates in *bhinna* and *bhinnavān* which do not take *guna.*

किं पुनः कारणं न सिद्ध्यति ?

Why does not the prohibition of *guṇa* operate there?

क्ङिति इति उच्यते ; यत्र क्ङित्यनन्तरो गुणभावी इगस्ति तत्रैव स्यात् — चितं, स्तुतम् इति, इह तु न स्यात् — भिन्नः, भिन्नवान् इति ।

Kṅiti is read in the *sūtra*; the prohibition will take place only in such places as *citam, stutam* where *ik* which is capable of taking *guṇa* is immediately followed by *kit* or *ṅit* (by the *paribhāṣā tasminniti nirdiṣṭē pūrvasya*), and it will not take place in cases like *bhinnaḥ, bhinnavān* (where the *ik* is not immediately followed by *kit pratyaya,* but is intercepted from it by the letter *d*.

ननु च यस्य गुण उच्यते, तं क्ङित्परेत्वन विशेषयिष्यामः । पुगन्तलघूपधस्य चाङ्गस्य गुण उच्यते, तच्चात्र क्ङित्परम् ।

Suppose we take that, to which *guṇa* is generally enjoined should be followed here by *kit* or *ṅit*. *Guṇa* is enjoined to the *aṅga* which is *puganta* or *laghūpadha* and it is followed here by *kit* or *ṅit*.

पुगन्तलघूपधस्य इति नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्ताङ्गस्य लघूपधस्येति ।

Pugantalaghūpadhasya is not taken in the sense *pugantasya aṅgasya* and *laghūpadhasya aṅgasya* (*i.e.*) *puganta* and *laghūpadha* are not taken as *bahuvrīhisamāsa* so that they may become adjuncts to *aṅga*.

कथं तर्हि ?

How then ?

पुकि अन्तः पुगन्तः, लघ्वी उपधा लघूपधा, पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च पुगन्तलघूपधं, पुगन्तलघूपधस्य इति ।

The *vigraha* of *pugantalaghūpadhasya* is *pugantaḥ ca laghūpadhā ca pugantalaghūpadham, tasya*, and the *vigraha of pugantaḥ* is *puki antaḥ* and that of *laghūpadhā* is *laghvī ca sā upadhā ca*.

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, अङ्गविशेषणे हि सति इहापि प्रसज्येत – भिनत्ति छिनत्ति इति ।

This should necessarily be interpreted in that way; for, if it is taken as a *viśēṣaṇa* to *aṅga*, it will operate even in the forms *bhinatti, chinatti.*

रोरवीत्यर्थं च — त्रिधा वद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति

For the sake of *rōravīti*[1] also which is found in the Vedic sentence *tridhā baddhō vṛṣabhō rōravīti.*

यदि तन्निमित्तग्रहणं क्रियते, शचङन्ते दोपः, रियति, पियति, धियति, प्रादुद्रुवत्, प्रासुस्रुवत्, अत्र न प्राप्नोति ।

If *tannimitta* is mentioned, difficulty arises where roots are followed by the pratyayas *śa* and *caṅ*, as in *riyati, piyati, dhiyati, prādudruvat, prāsusruvat.* Here the *niṣēdha* by the sūtra *kṅiti ca* cannot operate.

Note : *Ri, pi* and *dhi* are roots of the sixth conjugation. They take *śa* by the *sūtra tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ* (3, 1, 77) before the verbal termination *ti*. Hence we have *ri-a-ti, pi-a-ti* and *dhi-a-ti*. Here *i* does not take *guṇa* by the *sūtra sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* since *śa* is *apit* and hence should be treated like *ṅit* by the *sūtra sārvadhātukam apit* (1, 2, 4) and *kṅiti ca* may operate; but on account of *tannimittagrahaṇa*, this *sūtra* cannot prevent *i* from taking *guṇa* through the influence of *ti* by the sūtra *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7, 3, 86).

1. *Ru* is the root It takes *yaṅ* by the *sūtra dhātōr ēkācō halādēḥ kriyāsamabhihārē yaṅ* (3, 1, 22); it is doubled by *sanyaṅōḥ* (6, 1, 9); *abhyāsa* takes *guna* by *guṇō yāṅlukōḥ* (7, 4, 82); it takes the termination *ti*; consequently *ti* is preceded by *ī* by the *sūtra yāṅō vā* (7, 3, 94); the *u* of the root takes *guṇa* since it is followed by *tip*. *yaṅ* is dropped by *yaṅōsci ca* (2, 4, 74), if the seventh case-suffix is taken as *parasaptamī*, the *guṇa* will not take place since it is followed by *yaṅ*.

Similarly the roots *dru* and *sru* take *caṅ* for *cli* after them in *luṅ*. Hence in *a-dru-dru-a-t, a-sru-sru-a-t*, even though *u* of the root is prevented from taking *guṇa* by the presence of *ṅit* after it by this *sūtra*, how can it prevent if it takes *guṇa* by the *sūtra pugantalaghūpadhasya ca?*

शचङन्तस्यान्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वात्

The difficulty does not arise, since *sūtra* which is *antaraṅga* first operates in the *aṅga* which ends in *śa* and *caṅ*.

अन्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वादत्र इयङुवङोः कृतयोरनुपधात्वाद् गुणो न भविष्यति ।

Guṇa has no room here since *i* and *u* (of the roots mentioned above) take *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ* by the *sūtra aci śnu-dhātu-bhruvām yvōr-iyaṅ-uvaṅāu* (6, 4, 77) which is *antaraṅga* and consequently they are not penultimate.

एवं क्रियते चेदं तन्निमित्तग्रहणम्; न च कश्चिद् दोषो भवति ।

Tannimittagrahaṇa is done in this way and hence there will be no difficulty.

इमानि च भूयः तन्निमित्तग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनानि — हतः, हथः, उपोयते, औयत, लौयमानिः, नेनिक्ते इति ।

Again these are the additional benefits of *tannimitta-grahaṇa—hataḥ, hathaḥ, upōyatē, āuyata, lāuyamāniḥ, pāuya-māniḥ, nēniktē*.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि

These do not come as benefits (of *tannimittagrahaṇa*.)

इह तावत् हतो हथः [1] इति, प्रसक्तस्यानाभिनिर्वृत्तस्य प्रतिषेधेन निवृत्तिः शक्या कर्तुम्, अत्र च धातूपदेशावस्थायामेव अकारः ।

1. *Hana* (*han*) is the root; it takes the third person dual, and second person dual, termination present after it; *n* is dropped by the *sūtra anudāttōpadēśa-vanatitanōtyādīnām anunāsikalōpō jhali kṅiti.* (6, 4, 37)

Firstly here in *hataḥ* and *hathaḥ*, nothing which has a chance to come and which has not come is prohibited; there is *a* in the original root.[1]

इह च उपोयते, औयत, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः इति, बहिरङ्गे गुणवृद्धी, अन्तरङ्गः प्रतिषेधः, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ।

Here too in *upōyatē*[2], *āuyata*, *lāuyamāniḥ*, *pāuyamāniḥ*, *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are *bahiraṅga* and prohibition is *antaraṅga* and when *antaraṅga sūtra* operates after the *bahiraṅga sūtra*, the effect of the latter is considered non-existent and if both simultaneously operate, the former is stronger than the latter.

Note: *Upōyatē*:—*upa+vē+ya+tē=upa+u+ya+tē*. Here since *ya* is *kit*, *a+u* will not, in the opinion of the *pūrvapakṣin*, take *guṇa* if the *saptamī* in *kṅiti ca* is *parasaptamī* and can take *guṇa* if *nimittagrahaṇa* is done since the *guṇa* does not depend upon *yak*. *Siddhāntin* thinks that, since the *guṇa* takes place after the full form of the verb is accomplished between the preposition and the verb, this *guṇa* may be considered *asiddha*, when the form of the verb is taken into consideration.

Āuyata: ā+vē+ya+ta=ā+u+ya+ta=āuyata. Here also the *vṛddhi* between the augment ā and the initial of the verb in its final stage may be considered *asiddha* with reference to the formation of the verb.

1. The idea of the *pūrvapakṣin* is this:—After *n* is dropped in the root *han* before *taḥ* and *thaḥ*, *a* may take *guṇa* by the sūtra *pugantalaghūpadhasya* and this sūtra *kṅiti ca* prohibits it. The answer of the *siddhāntin* is that *a* already exists in the root.

2. Vēñ (vē) is the root. In passive present third person singular, we have vē+yak+tē; *v* takes samprasāraṇa by the *sūtra grahijyāvayivyadhivaṣṭivṛścati pṛcchati bhṛjjatīnām ṅiti ca* (6, 1 16); u+ē become *u* by *samprasāraṇācca* (6, 1, 108); upa+u become upō by *ād guṇaḥ* (6, 1, 87).

Lāuyamāniḥ: *Lūyamānasya apatyam*. The *ū* takes *vṛddhi* by the *sūtra taddhitēṣvacām ādēḥ* (7, 2, 117). *Pāuyamāniḥ—Pūyamānasya apatyam*. Rest is like *Lāuyamāniḥ*.

'नेनिक्ते' इति, परेण रूपेण व्यवहितत्वान्न भविष्यति ।

The *guṇa* in the *abhyāsa* in *nēniktē* cannot be prohibited by this *sūtra* even without *nimittagrahaṇa* since it is separated from the *pratyaya ślu* (which is considered to do the duties of a *ṅit*) by the root *nij*.

उपधार्थेन तावन्नार्थः । धातोरिति वर्तते, धातुं क्ङित्परत्वेन विशेषयिष्यामः ।

Firstly *tannimittagrahaṇa* need not be done for the penultimate to be operated by the *sūtra*. The word *dhātu* is taken here from the word *dhātulōpē* in the previous *sūtra*; it s changed to *dhātōḥ* ; *kṅitparatva* is taken as the *viśēṣaṇa* of *dhātōḥ* (so that the *sūtra* may mean *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* will not take place in any part of a root if it is followed by *kit* or *ṅit*)

यदि धातुर्विशेष्यते, विकरणस्य न प्राप्नोति, चिनुतः, सुनुतः, लुनीतः इति ।

If *dhātu* is taken as the *viśēṣya* of *kṅitparatva*, the prohibition cannot take place to the *vikaraṇa* (conjugational sign) in the forms *cinutaḥ*, *sunutaḥ*, *lunītaḥ* and *punītaḥ*.

नैष दोषः, विहितविशेषणं धातुग्रहणम् — धातोर्यो विहित इति ।

This defect does not arise by taking *dhātu* to be the *vihitaviśēṣaṇa* so that the *sūtra* may mean that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* may not take place to any part which is enjoined to a *dhātu*.

धातोरेव तर्हि न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the *niṣēdha* will not apply to the root (but only to the *vikaraṇa* etc.)

नैवं विज्ञायते — धातोर्विहितस्य क्ङिति इति ।

It is not meant that the *niṣēdha* due to *kit* and *ṅit* to that which is enjoined to the root.

कथं तर्हि ?

How then ?

धातोर्विहिते क्ङिति इति ।

To the root, *vikaraṇa* etc. when *kit* enjoined to the root follows.

Two points may be said against this argument:—The *anuvṛtti* of *dhātu* from the previous sūtra is not happy. To take it as the *vihitaviśēṣaṇa* may not strike at first sight.

अथवा कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं, यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । पुगन्तलघूपधस्य गुणो भवति इति उपस्थितमिदं भवति क्ङिति न ।

Or, since *saṁjñā* and *paribhāṣā* go to the scene of action. Where *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* have a chance to come, there comes the *sūtra kṅiti na*. Here, there is the chance of *guṇa* through the *sūtra pugantalghūpadhasya* and there *kṅiti na* makes its appearance.

This cannot be the answer for one who thinks that this cannot stand in *yathōddēśapakṣa* and there is no deciding factor in favour of *kāryakālapakṣa* alone.

अथवा यदेतस्मिन्योगे क्ङिद्ग्रहणं क्रियते तदनवकाशम्; तस्यानवकाशत्वाद् गुणवृद्धी न भविष्यतः ।

Or, the mention of *kit* or *ṅit* in this *sūtra* has no opportunity to be made use of. Hence the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* (which are otherwise capable of taking place) do not come when *kit* and *ṅit* follow.

अथवा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, भवत्युपधालक्षणस्य गुणस्य प्रतिषेध इति, यदयं त्रसिगृधिधृषिक्षिपेः क्नुः (3, 2, 140), इको झल् (1, 2, 9), हलन्ताच्च (1, 2, 10) इति क्नुसनौ कितौ करोति ।

Or the procedure adopted by the *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggest that there is prohibition of *guṇa* of the penultimate, since the *pratyaya nu* which comes after *tras*, *gṛdh*, *dhṛṣ* and *kṣip* is read as *kit* in the *sūtra trasi-gṛdhi-dhṛṣi-kṣipēḥ knuḥ* (3, 2, 140) and the *san* which is *jhaladi* and which comes after *iganta* or after a consonont near *ik* is mentioned as *kit* in the *sūtras ikō jhal* (1, 2, 9) and *halantācca* (1, 2, 10).

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it that they are *jñāpakas* ?

कित्करण एतत्प्रयोजनम् गुणः कथं[1] न स्यादिति । यदि चात्र गुणप्रतिषेधो न स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात् । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो भवत्युपधालक्षणस्यापि गुणस्य प्रतिषेध इति, ततः क्नुसनौ कितौ करोति ।

This is the benefit of reading them as *kit* that, under no circumstances, does *guṇa* set in. If there is no prohibition of *guṇa*, *kitkaraṇa* will be of no avail. The *Ācārya* sees that *kṅiti ca* may refer to the *guṅa-pratiṣēdha* of the penultimate also and hence reads *nu* and *san* as *kit*.

From the above we see that *Vārttikakāra* has expressed the necessity of *tannimittagrahaṇa* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* feels it unnecessary and achieves its purpose through *jñāpakas*.

रोरवीत्यर्थेनापि नार्थः ।

Tannimittagrahaṇa is not necessary even for the form *rōravīti*.

क्ङिति इत्युच्यते, नात्र क्ङितं पश्यामः ।

The *sūtra* deals with *kit* and *ṅit* ; but neither of the two do we see here.

प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्राप्नोति ।

1. कथम् = कथमपि

Even though the *pratyaya* is not found, its effect may be seen through the *sūtra pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*.

न लुमता तस्मिन् इति प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधः ।

There is the *pratiṣēdha* for the *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, when there is *lōpa* through the words *luk*, *ślu*, *lup* (mentioned in the sūtra is *na lumatāṅgasya* 1, 1, 63).

कथम् ? How ?

अथापि न लुमताङ्गस्य इत्युच्यते, एवमपि न दोषः ।

Even though the *sūtra* is read as *na lumatāṅgasya*, there is no harm.

न लुमता लुप्ते अङ्गाधिकारः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते ।

The elision by the mention of the words *luk*, *ślu*, and *lup* has no reference to *aṅga* (of which it does not form a part).

किं तर्हि ?

To what then ?

योऽसौ लुमता लुप्यते तस्मिन् यदङ्गं तस्य यत्कार्यं तन्न भवति इति ।

That which should take place in the *aṅga* which has in it a *pratyaya* elided by the mention of words *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* does not take effect.

अथाप्यङ्गाधिकारः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते, एवमपि न दोषः ।

There is no harm even if it has reference to *aṅga* (of which it does not form a part.)

कथम् ?

How ?

कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम्, यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति इति उपस्थितमिदं भवति क्ङिति न ।

Saṁjñā and *paribhāṣā* go to the scene of action. Where there is a chance of *guṇa* by the *sūtra sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*, the *sūtra kṅiti ca* comes and prevents it.

अथवा छान्दसमेतत्; दृष्टानुविधिच्छन्दसि भवति ।

Or this is a Vedic expression and it should be explained as it is.

अथवा बहिरङ्गो गुणः. अन्तरङ्गः प्रतिषेधः; असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ।

Or *guṇa* (which depends upon *yaṅ* which is immediately after the root) is *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅgakārya* is non-existent when *antaraṅgasūtra* begins to operate.

अथवा पूर्वस्मिन् योगे यदार्धधातुकग्रहणं तदनवकाशम्; तस्यानवकाशत्वाद् गुणो भविष्यति ।

Or, the mention of the word *ārdhadhātukē* in the previous *sūtra* does not serve any purpose and hence it may be taken that it is used for the sake of *guṇa* here (in *rōravīti*).

From the above it is clear that *Vārttikakāra* mentions *tannimittagrahaṇa* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* feels it unnecessary since the purpose can be achieved in many other ways.

इह कस्मान्न भवति, लैगवायनः, कामयते ।

How is it that the *pratiṣēdha* is not found in *Lāigavāyanaḥ* [1] and *kāmayatē* ? [2]

1. The word *ligu* takes the *taddhitapratyaya phak* by the *sūtra naḍādibhyaḥ phak* (4, 1, 99); *ph* of *phak* is replaced by *āyan* by the *sūtra āyan-ēy-īn-īyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghām pratyayādīnām* (7, 1, 2); *i* of *ligu* takes *vṛddhi* since it is followed by *phak* by the *sūtra kiti ca* (7, 2, 118) and *u* takes *guṇa* by the *sūtra ōrguṇaḥ* (6, 4, 116), The question here is why the *guṇa* by *ōrguṇaḥ* is not prevented by this *sūtra*.

2. *Kamu* (*kam*) is the root; it takes *ṇiṅ* by the *sūtra kamēr ṇiṅ* (3, 1, 30); it then takes the *taṅ tē*; *a* takes *vṛddhi* by the *sūtrā ata upadhāyāḥ* (7, 2, 116); *i* takes *guṇa* by *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* (7, 3, 84); the question here is why the *vṛddhi* of *a* is not prevented by this *sūtra*.

तद्धितकाम्योरिक्प्रकरणात्

The *pratiṣēdha* has not crept in the word followed by *taddhita* and in the form of the root *kam*, since this *sūtra* operates only in such cases where *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are enjoyed to *ik* by mentioning it as *ik*.

इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः, न चैते इग्लक्षणे ।

Pratiṣēdha is to the *guṇa* and the *vṛddhi* enjoined through the mention of *ik*. These two cases are not so.

Note: In *Lāigavāyana*, *ōrguṇaḥ* enjoins *guṇa* to *ō*; though *u* is *ik*, the *sūtra* does not enjoin *guṇa* to *ik*. The *a* in *kam* which has taken *vṛddhi* is not *ik*.

लकारस्य ङित्वादादेशेषु स्थानिवद्भावप्रसङ्गः

There is the possibility of *sthānivadbhāva* in the *ādēśa* of *lakāras* which are *ṅit*.

लकारस्य ङित्वादादेशेषु स्थानिवद्भावः प्राप्नोति, अचिनवम्, असुनवम्, अकरवम्[1] ।

Sthānivadbhāva may arise in the *ādēśas* of *lakāra* which is *ṅit* as in the forms *acinavam*, *asunavam* and *akaravam*.

Note: Since *am* is the *ādēśa* of *mip* by the *sūtra tas-thas-tha-mipām tāṁ-taṁ-ta-amaḥ* (3, 4, 101) in *laṅ*, *am* may be considered a *ṅit* and consequently *u* of *nu* after the roots *ci* and *su* and *u* after *kṛ* will not take *guṇa* by the *sūtra sārvadhātukārdha-dhātukayōḥ* on account of this *sūtra kṅiti ca*.

लकारस्य ङित्वादादेशेषु स्थानिवद्भावप्रसङ्ग इति चेद् यासुटो ङिद्वचनात् सिद्धम् ।

1. *Acinavam, asunavam* and *akaravam* are the forms of the first person singular in *laṅ* (imperfect) of the roots *ci*, *su* and *kṛ*.

If it is said that there is the possibility of *sthānivadbhāva* in the *ādēśas* of *lakāras* which are *ṅit*, it is decided through the mention of *ṅit* with reference to *yāsuṭ*.

यदयं यासुटो ङिद्वचनं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः न ङिदादेशा ङितो भवन्ति इति ।

Since the *Ācārya* mentions that the *āgama yāsuṭ* in *liṅ* is a *ṅit* (in the *sūtra yāsuṭ parasmāipadēṣūdāttō ṅicca* (3, 4, 103), he makes us infer that the *ādēśas* of *lakāras* which are *ṅit* should not be considered *ṅit* through *sthānivadbhāva*.

यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते, कथं नित्यं ङितः इतश्च इति ।

If it is so inferred, how is *Ācārya Pāṇini* justified in using *ṅitaḥ* in the *sūtra nityam ṅitaḥ* [1] (3, 4, 99) and allowing the *anuvṛtti* of *ṅitaḥ* in *itaśca* [2] (3, 4, 100).

ङितो यत् कार्यं तद् भवति, ङिति यत् कार्यं तन्न भवति इति ।

(The inference is this):—That which happens to *ṅit* may also happen (to *ādēśas*); but that which happens to another since *ṅit* follows it, does not happen when the *ādēśas* of *ṅit* follow it.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is this to be stated so ?

न हि

If need not be stated.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

1. The *sūtra nityam ṅitaḥ* means that the final *s* in the *lakāras* which are *ṅit* is dropped. For instance *vas* and *mas*, the first person dual and plural termination are changed to *va* and *na*.
2. The *sūtra itaśca* means that the final *i* in the *lakāras* which are *ṅit* is dropped (*i.e.*) *ti*, *si* and *mi* are changed into *t*, *s* and *m*.

How is it so understood without its being stated ?

यासुट एव ङिद्वचनात् । अपर्याप्तश्चैव हि यासुट् समुदायस्य ङित्त्वे, ङितं चैनं करोति । तस्यैतत् प्रयोजनम् 'ङितो यत् कार्यं तद्यथा स्यात्, ङिति यत् कार्यं तन्मा भूत् इति ।

From the mention that *yāsuṭ* is *ṅit* ; *yāsuṭ* is not capable of making the whole as *ṅit* ; *Pāṇini* has read this as *ṅit*. The benefit that accrues from this is that what happens to *ṅit* may also happen to *ādēśa* and that what happens to another on account of *ṅit* following it (like *samprasāraṇa*) may not happen to the same when the *adēśa* follows it.

दीधीवेविटाम् (1-1-6)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ?

Why is this *sūtra* read ?

गुणवृद्धी मा भूतामिति — आदीध्यनम्[1], आदीध्यकः[2], आवेव्यनम्[3], आवेव्यकः[4] ।

So that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* may not take place in *ādīdhyanam ādīdhyakaḥ*, *āvēvyanam* and *āvēvyakaḥ*.

अयं योगः शक्योऽकर्तुम्

This *sūtra* may not have been read.

कथम् ?

Why ?

दीधीवेव्योश्छन्दोविषयत्वाद्, दृष्टानुविधित्वाच्च छन्दसः, छन्दसि अदीधेत् अदीधयुः इति च गुणदर्शनाद्, अप्रतिषेधः

1. दीधी is the root; it takes *lyuṭ* and *ī* takes *yaṅ* by *ēranēkācoऽsaṁyōga-pūrvasya* (6, 4, 82).

2. It takes *ṇvul*.

3-4. वेवी is the root and the rest is the same as above.

Since the roots *dīdhī* and *vēvī* are found only in Vedas, and since only the forms found in the Vedas have to be explained and *guṇa* is found in the forms *adīdhēt* and *adīdhayuḥ*, the *pratiṣēdha* is of no avail.

दीधीवेव्यौ छन्दोविषयौ; दृष्टानुविधिश्च छन्दसि भवति; दीधिवेव्योश्छन्दोविषयत्वात् दृष्टानुविधित्वाच्च छन्दसः[1], अदीधेत् अदीधयुः इति च गुणस्य दर्शनात् अप्रतिषेधः; अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधः, अप्रतिषेधः ।

प्रजापतिर्वै यत्किञ्चन मनसा दीधेत् ।

होत्राय वृतः कृपयन्नदीधेत् ।

अदीधयुर्दाशराज्ञे वृतासः ।

The roots *dīdhī* and *vēvī* are used only in Vedas; only the forms found in the Vedas have to be explained[2]; since *dīdhī* and *vēvī* are concerned only with the Vedas, since the forms alone which are found in the Vedas have to be explained and *guṇa* is seen in the forms *adīdhēt* and *adīdhayuḥ* found in the following quotations :—

Prajāpatir-vāi yat-kiñcana manasā dīdhēt.

Hōtrāya vṛtaḥ kṛpayan-n-adīdhēt.

Adīdhayur-dāśarājñē vṛtāsaḥ.

the *pratiṣēdha* serves no purpose.

भवेदिदं युक्तमुदाहरणम् — अदीधेत् इति ।

The example *adīdhēt* is deservedly a fitting one.

इदं त्वयुक्तम् — अदीधयुः इति । अयं जुसि गुणः प्रतिषेधविषय आरभ्यते, स यथैव 'क्ङिति च' इत्येनं प्रतिषेधं बाधते, एवमेनमपि[3] बाधेत ।

1. The order of sentences varies in certain editions.
2. *Kāiyaṭa* says that *ādīdhyanam, ādīdhyakaḥ, āvēvyanam* and *āvēvyakaḥ* are not found in the vedas.
3. क्ङिति न इत्येतं प्रतिषेधं बाधते एवमिममपि is another reading.

But the example *adīdhayuḥ* is not a fitting one; for the *sūtra jusi ca* (7, 3, 83) which enjoins *guṇa* against the *pratiṣēdha* and which is taken to set at naught the effect of the *sūtra kṅiti ca* may as well set at naught the effect of this *sūtra*.

नैष दोषः, जुसि गुणः प्रतिषेधविषय आरभ्यमाणस्तुल्यजातीयं प्रतिषेधं बाधते ।

This *contra-argument* cannot stand, since the *guṇa* by the *sūtra jusi ca*, started as a *pratiṣēdha* can set at naught the *pratiṣēdha* of the same nature.

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः प्रतिषेधः ?

Which is the *pratiṣēdha* of the same nature ?

यः प्रत्ययाश्रयः

That which is concerned with *pratyaya*.

प्रकृत्याश्रयश्चायम्

This is concerned with *prakṛti* or stem.

अथवा येन नाप्राप्ते तस्य बाधनं भवति । न चाप्राप्ते क्ङिति न इत्येतस्मिन् प्रतिषेधे जुसि गुण आरभ्यते । अस्मिन् पुनः प्राप्ते चाप्राप्ते च ।

Or, if a *vidhi* through a *sūtra* is introduced where another *sūtra* is invariably to operate, it becomes its *apavāda* or *bādhaka*. Unless *guṇapratiṣēdha* is settled through the *sūtra kṅiti ca*, *guṇa* cannot be its *pratiṣēdha* through the *sūtra jusi ca*. Here it is said to be the *pratiṣēdha* both when there is a chance for *guṇapratiṣēdha* and when there is no chance.

यदि तर्हि अयं योगो नारभ्यते, कथं दीध्यत्[1] इति ।

If this *sūtra* is not read, how can the form *dīdhyat* be explained ?

1. लेट् तिप् (*Kāiyaṭa*); दीध्यदिति वेव्यदिति is another reading.

दीध्यदिति च श्यन्व्यत्ययेन[1]

The root *dīdhī* may be said to have taken *śyan* instead (of the *luk* of *śap*).

दीध्यदिति[2] **च श्यन् भविष्यति व्यत्ययेन ।**

The fourth conjugational suffix is used instead of the second conjugational suffix after the root *dīdhī*.

इटश्चापि ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

It is possible not to mention *iṭ* also in the *sūtra*.

कथम् अकणिषम् अरणिषम्, कणिता श्वः, रणिता श्वः इति ?

How can then the following forms be explained:— *akaṇiṣam, araṇiṣam, kaṇitā* (third person singular, first future) and *raṇitā* (third person singular, first future) ?

Note : The roots *kaṇ* and *raṇ* take *iṭ* before *sic* in aorist and the termination *tā* of the first future by the *sūtra ārdhadhātukasyēḍ valādēḥ* (7, 2, 35).

आर्धधातुकस्येड्वलादेः इत्यत्र इट् इडेव यथा स्यात्, यदन्यत् प्राप्नोति तन्मा भूदिति ।

When it is possible to take *iṭ* by *anuvṛtti* (from the *sūtra nēḍ vaśi kṛti* (7, 2, 8), *Ācārya Pāṇini* has read *iṭ* in this *sūtra*. The motive underlying it is that *iṭ* should stand as *iṭ* under any circumstances and should never change into another.

किं चान्यत् प्राप्नोति ?

What can come instead ?

गुणः

Guṇa.

1. शन् व्यत्ययेन is another reading.
2. दीध्यदिति वेव्यदिति is another reading

यदि नियमः क्रियते पिपठिषतेरप्रत्ययः पिपठीः, दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said that *iṭ* remains *iṭ* under any circumstances, the form *pipaṭhīḥ* derived from *pipaṭhiṣa* followed by *kvip* cannot be achieved since *i* of *iṭ* is lengthened here by the *sūtra rvōr upadhāyāḥ dīrgha ikaḥ* (8, 2, 76).

नैष दोषः, आङ्गं यत्कार्यं तन्नियम्यते, न चैतदाङ्गम् ।

This objection may not stand since the *niyama* is with reference to *aṅgakārya* and this—*pipaṭhīḥ* - is not of that kind.

अथवा असिद्धं दीर्घत्वं,, तस्यासिद्धत्वान्नियमो न भविष्यति ।

Or, the vowel-lengthening is *asiddha* (since the *sūtra* enjoining it is in the second *pāda* of the eighth chapter) and hence there is no need for *niyama* also.

Vārttikakāra considers that the mention of *dīdhī* and *vēvī* in the *sūtra* is unneccessary and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* considers that the whole *sūtra* is unnecessary.

हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः (1, 1, 7)

There are *four* topics dealt with in this *sūtra* :—

(1) Is the compound *anantarāḥ* made up of *na* and *antaram* or *na* and *antarā*? (2) Is the word *saha* to be added at the end of the *sūtra* ? (3) If there are more than two contiguous consonants, is the *saṁyōgasaṁjñā* worthy of being applied to the whole or to every *two* of them ? (4) Is the word *antarāḥ* in the *sūtra* to be replaced by the word *svarānantarhitāḥ* ?

Of these the first is raised by *Mahābhāṣyakāra* and the rest by *Vārttikakāra*. As regards the second, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* differs from the view of the *Vārttikakāra*.

1. *Pipaṭhisa+kvip* ; the final *a* is dropped by *atō lōpaḥ* and *ṣ* is changed to *r* by *sasajaṣō ruḥ* and the penultimate is lengthened by the *sūtra rvōr upadhāyā dīrgha ikaḥ* (8, 2, 76).

1. अनन्तरा इति कथमिदं विज्ञायते, अविद्यमानमन्तरं येषाम् इति आहोस्वित् अविद्यमाना अन्तरा येषाम् इति ?

Is the compound *anantarāḥ* to be split as *avidyamānam antaram yēṣām* or *avidyamānā antarā yēṣām* ?

Note. *Antaram* means *intervening space*: here it should be taken in the sense of *varṇaśūnyaḥ kālaḥ* (*i.e.*) intercepted time without the presence of a letter. *Antarā* is an *avyaya* meaning *in the middle*. In that case *avidyamānā antarā yēṣām* tells us that *anantarāḥ* is a *vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhi*, where *avidyamānāḥ* means *avidyamānāḥ varṇāḥ* and *antarā* means *madhyē*. If, on the other hand, *antarā* is taken to mean, by *lakṣaṇā letter or letters in the middle*, it may be taken as a *samānādhikaraṇabahuvrīhi* [1].

किं चातः ?

What if (it is taken in one way or the other) ?

यदि विज्ञायते अविद्यमानमन्तरं येषाम् इति, अवग्रहे संयोगसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, अप्सु इति अप्ऽसु इति [2]; विद्यते ह्यत्रान्तरम् । अथ विज्ञायते अविद्यमाना अन्तरा येषाम् इति न दोषो भवति ।

If it is interpreted in the manner *avidyamānam antaram yēśām*, conjunct consonants which are pronounced with an interval of time between as *ps* in *apऽsu* cannot get the *saṁyōga-saṁjñā*; for there is *antara* between them. If, on the other hand, it is interpreted in the manner *avidyamānā antarā yēṣām*, this defect cannot arise.

यथा न दोषस्तथास्तु ।

1. This is well explained in *Annambhatta's Pradīpōddyōtana.*

2. In the *padapāṭha* of the Vedas it is so read. In the second *apsu*, *p* and *s* are intervened by the time needed to pronounce half a *mātrā*.

Let it be taken in the manner which is free from any defect.

अथवा पुनरस्तु अविद्यमानमन्तरं येषाम् इति ।

Or, let the interpretation *avidyamānaṁ antaram yēṣām,* stand.

ननु चोक्तम् अवग्रहे संयोगसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति अप्सु इति अप्ऽसु इति; विद्यते ह्यत्रान्तरम् इति?

Has it not been said that (in that case) conjunct consonants which are pronounced with an interval of time between as *ps* in *apऽsu* cannot get the *saṁyōgasaṁjñā,* since there is *antara* between them ?

नैव दोषो न प्रयोजनम्

There is no harm if it does not get the designation of *saṁyōga,* nor any advantage if it gets the designation.

2. संयोगसंज्ञायां सहवचनं यथान्यत्र

In the *sūtra* dealing with *saṁyōgasaṁjñā,* the word *saha* should be added as is found elsewhere.

संयोगसंज्ञायां सहग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् — हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः सह इति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम्? सहभूतानां संयोगसंज्ञा यथा स्यात् एकैकस्य मा भूत् इति । यथान्यत्र — तद्यथा अन्यत्रापि यत्रेच्छति सहभूतानां कार्यं करोति तत्र सहग्रहणम् । तद्यथा — सह सुपा, उभे अभ्यस्तं सह, इति ।

In the *sūtra* dealing with *saṁyōgasaṁjñā,* the word *saha* should be read thus —*halōऽanantarāḥ saṁyōgaḥ saha.* Why? So that the whole may get the designation *saṁyōga* collectively and not individually. As is found elsewhere—wherever he wants *kārya* collectively, he reads the word *saha. viz. saha supā, ubhē abyastam saha.*

किं च स्यात् यद्येकैकस्य संयोगसंज्ञा स्यात्?

What may happen if they get the designation of *saṁyōga* individually?

इह निर्यायात्[1] निर्वायात्[2], वान्यस्य संयोगादेः इत्येत्वं प्रसज्येत । इह च संहृषीष्ट[3] इति, ऋतश्च संयोगादेः इति इट् प्रसज्येत । इह संह्रियत[4] इति, गुणोर्तिसंयोगाद्योः इति गुणः प्रसज्येत । इह च दृषत्करोति समित्करोति इति संयोगान्तस्य इति लोपः प्रसज्येत । इह च शक्ता वस्ता इति स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ' इति लोपः प्रसज्येत । इह च निर्यातः निर्वातः संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः इति निष्ठानत्वं प्रसज्येत ।

Here in *niryāyāt, nirvāyāt*, the *ā* after the first *y* in the former and after *v* in the latter can optionally change to *ē* by the *sūtra vānyasya saṁyōgādēḥ* (6, 4, 68). Here in *saṁhṛṣīṣṭa* an *iṭ* (*āgama*) may come after *hṛ* (since it is taken as a *saṁyōga*) by the *sūtra ṛtaśca saṁyōgādēḥ* (7, 2, 43). Here in *saṁhriyatē*, the *ṛ* after *h* (which is taken as a *saṁyōga*) may take *guṇa* by the *sūtra guṇōrtisaṁyōgādyōḥ* (7, 4, 29). Here in the words *dṛṣatkarōti* and *samitkarōti*, *t* at the end of *dṛṣat* and *samit* will be dropped by the *sūtra saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ* (8, 2, 23). Here in the words *śaktā and vastā*, *k* and *s* which are at the end of a *padā* or which are followed by a *jhal* are liable to be dropped by the *sūtra skōḥ saṁyōgādyōrantē ca* (8, 2, 29) (if they are considered *saṁyōga*). Here in the words *niryātaḥ* and *nirvātaḥ*, *t* after *a* which follows *y* and *v* (which are considered as *saṁyōga* is liable to be changed to *n*.

नैष दोषः । This defect will not stand.

यत्तावदुच्यते ' इह तावत् निर्यायात् निर्वायात् वान्यस्य संयोगादेः इति एत्वं प्रसज्येत इति ; नैवं विज्ञायते ' संयाग आदिर्यस्य सोऽयं संयोगादिः, संयोगादेः ' इति । कथं तर्हि? संयोगौ आदी यस्य सोऽयं संयागादिः, संयोगादेः इति । एवं तावत् सर्वमाङ्गं परिहृतम् ।

1. Third person singular potential of the root *yā* with the prepositions *nir*.
2. Third person singular, potential of the root *vā* with the preposition *nir*.
3. Third person singular, benedictive of the root *hṛ* with the preposition *sam*.
4. Third person singular, passive, present of *hṛ* with *sam*.

In the statement made first that *ā* in *niryāyāt* and *nirvāyāt* is liable to be replaced by *ē*, *saṁyōgādēḥ* is not taken as the sixth case of *saṁyōgādi* which is split as *saṁyōgaḥ ādiḥ yasya saḥ*. How then? It is considered as the sixth case of *syṁyōgādi* which is split as *saṁyōgāu ādī yasya saḥ*. Through this process, all the changes which are related to *aṅga* are avoided.

यदप्युच्यते 'इह च दृषत्करोति समित्करोति संयोगान्तस्य इति लोपः प्रसज्येत इति, नैवं विज्ञायते संयोगः अन्तः यस्य तद् इदं संयोगान्तं, संयोगान्तस्य इति। कथं तर्हि? संयोगौ अन्तौ यस्य तद् इदं संयोगान्तं, संयोगान्तस्य इति।

In the statement that *t* in *dṛṣatkarōti* and *samitkarōti* is liable to be dropped since it is *saṁyōgānta*, *saṁyōgāntasya* in the *sūtra saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ* is not taken to be the sixth case of *saṁyōgānta* which is split as *saṁyōgaḥ antaḥ yasya tat*. How then? It is considered as the sixth case of *saṁyōgānta* which is split as *saṁyōgāntāu yasya tat*.

यदप्युच्यते 'इह च शक्ता वस्ता इति स्कोः संयागाद्योः इति लोपः प्रसज्येत इति नैवं विज्ञायते संयोगौ, आदी संयोगादी, संयोगाद्योः इति। कथं तर्हि? संयोगयोः आदी संयोगादी, संयोगाद्योः इति।

In the statement that *k* and *s* in *śaktā* and *vastā* are liable to be dropped by the *sūtra skōḥ saṁyōgādyōḥ* .., *saṁyōgādyōḥ* is not taken as the sixth case of *saṁyōgādī* which is split as *saṁyōgāu ādī*. How then? It is taken as the sixth case of *saṁyōgādī* which is split as *saṁyōgayōḥ ādī*.

यदप्युच्यते 'इह च निर्यातः निर्वातः इति संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः इति निष्ठानत्वं प्रसज्येत इति; नैवं विज्ञायते संयोग आदिर्यस्य, सोऽयं, संयोगादिः, संयोगादेः इति। कथं तर्हि? संयोगौ आदी यस्य सोऽयं संयोगादिः, संयोगादेः इति।

In the statement that *t* in *niryātaḥ* and *nirvātaḥ* will be changed to *n* (since *y* is considered *saṁyōga* on the strength of the *sūtra saṁyōgādērātō dhātōryaṇvataḥ*) *saṁyōgādēḥ* is not taken as the sixth case of *saṁyōgādi* which is split as *saṁyōgaḥ ādiḥ*

yasya saḥ, but is taken as the sixth case of *saṁyōgādi* which is split as *saṁyōgāu ādī yasya saḥ*.

कथं कृत्वा एकैकस्य संयोगसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ?

What leads to the interpretation that each gets the designation *saṁyōga* ?

प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृष्टा इति — तद्यथा वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे प्रत्येकं भवतः

It is seen that the predicate of the sentence relates individually to the subject. For instance the designation *guṇa* and *vrddhi* is applied individually.

Note : *Kāiyaṭa* says that the question *katham kṛtvā ēkāikasya saṁyōgasaṁjñā prāpnōti* arises from the idea that the derivation of the word *saṁyōga* is *saṁyujyantē asmin varṇāḥ* and hence it is an *anvartasaṁjñā* (designation in consonance with the derivation of the word) and consequently it cannot be applied individually. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* prefers *mahāsaṁjñā* to *anvarthasaṁjñā* and mentions that the former was the opinion of the ancients.

ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति । तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम्, अर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति ; न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति ।

Oh, there is, on the other hand, this illustration also that the predicate of a sentence relates collectively to the subject. For instance, if it is said that the descendants of Garga may be fined hundred coins, the government is satisfied with the full amount and is not concerned with getting the amount individually.

सत्येतस्मिन् दृष्टान्ते, यदि तत्र प्रत्येकम् इत्युच्यते, इहापि सहग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । अथ तत्रान्तरेण प्रत्येकमिति वचनं प्रत्येकं गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञे भवतः, इहापि नार्थः सहग्रहणेन ।

As there exists this example, the word *saha* is necessary in this *sūtra* also if the word *pratyēkam* is mentioned there—(*i. e.*) in the *sūtras vṛddhirādāic* and *adēṅ guṇaḥ*. If it is possible to construe in those *sūtras* that the designations *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* can be individually applied without the mention of the word *pratyēkam*, the mention of the word *saha* in this *sūtra* also is not necessary.

Note: *Vārttikakāra* considers that the word *saha* is necessary in this *sūtra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* considers it unnecessary. The reason for his doing so is this:—There are instances where the predicate relates to the subject individually as in *Dēvadatta - Yajñadatta - Viṣṇumitrā bhōjyantām* and where the predicate relates to the subject collectively as in *Gargāḥ śatam daṇḍyantām*. In the former sentence the word *pratyēkam* is not found, nor is the word *saha* found in the latter. Since the *Sūtrakāra* has followed the practice current in the world in not using the word *pratyēkam* in the *sūtra vṛiddhirādāic* and *adēṅ-guṇaḥ*, he has not mentioned the word *saha* in this *sūtra halōnantarāḥ saṁyōgaḥ*.

3. अथ यत्र बहूनामानन्तर्यं, किं तत्र द्वयोर्द्वयोः संयोगसंज्ञा भवति, आहास्विदविशेषेण

When there are more than two contiguous consonants, does every two get the designation *saṁyōga* or the whole alone ?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What difference does it make ?

समुदाये संयागादिलोपो मस्जेः

If the whole gets the designation, the form from the root *masj* cannot take the elision of the first letter of *saṁyōga*.

समुदाये संयोगादिलोपो मस्जेर्न सिद्ध्यति — मङ्क्ता, मङ्क्तुम् ।

If the whole gets the designation, the elision of *s* of *masj* which is *saṁyōgādi* in the forms *maṅktā* [1] and *maṅktum* [2] cannot take place.

इह च निर्ग्लैयात् निर्ग्लायात् निर्म्लैयात् निर्म्लायात् इति 'वान्यस्य संयोगादेः' इत्येत्वं न प्राप्नोति; इह च संस्वरिषीष्ट इति 'ऋतश्च संयोगादेः' इति इट् न प्राप्नोति; इह च संस्वर्यते इति 'गुणोर्तिसंयोगाद्योः' इति गुणो न प्राप्नोति; इह च गोमान् करोति यवमान् करोति इति 'संयोगान्तस्य लोपः' इति लोपो न प्राप्नोति; इह च निर्ग्लानः निर्म्लानः इति 'संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः' इति, निष्ठानत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

Besides here in *nirglēyāt nirglāyāt, nirmlēyāt, nirmlāyāt*, the *ā* of the roots *glā* and *mlā* cannot optionally take *ē* as its *ādēśa* by the *sūtra Vānyasya saṁyōgādēḥ*, since the roots which begin in *gl* and *ml* are not *saṁyōgādi* and *rgl* and *rml* alone are *saṁyōga*; here in *saṁsvariṣīṣṭa* [3], the *sīyuṭ* after the root *svṛ* cannot take the optional *iḍāgama* by the *sūtra Ṛtaśca saṁyōgādēḥ* since it is not *saṁyōgādi* but *msvr* alone is *saṁyōga*; here in *saṁsvaryatē*, the final *ṛ* of the root *svṛ* cannot take *guṇa* by the *sūtra Guṇortisaṁyōgādyōḥ* since *msv* is *saṁōga* and not *sv*; herein *gōmānkarōti yavamānkarōti*, *t* after *n* cannot be dropped by the *sūtra Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ* since *k* is the *saṁyōgānta* and not *t*; here in *nirglānaḥ, nirmlānaḥ, niṣṭhānatvam* is not possible by the *sūtra Saṁyōgādērātō dhātōryaṇvataḥ* since the roots *glā* and *mlā* are not *saṁyōgādi*, *rgl* and *rml* alone standing as *saṁyōga*.

1, 2. *Masj* + *trc* and *masj* + *tum* take *numāgama* by the *sūtra masjinaśōrjhali* (7, 1, 60). If the whole *nsj* is taken as *saṁyōga*, the *s* cannot be dropped by the *sūtra Skōḥ saṁyōgādyōrantē ca* (8, 2, 29), since it is not *saṁyōgādi*.

3. *svr* is the root; *āśīrliṅ, sīyuṭ, suṭ tithōḥ, ṣatrasṭutvē, iḍguṇāu.*

अस्तु तर्हि द्वयोर्द्वयोः संयोगसंज्ञा [1] ।

If so, let every two get the designation of *saṁyōga*.

द्वयोर्हलोः संयोग [2] इति चेद् द्विर्वचनम्

If two contiguous consonants get the designation *saṁyōga*, reduplication (is not possible.)

द्वयोर्हलोः संयोगसंज्ञा [3] इति चेद् द्विर्वचनं न सिद्ध्यति — इन्द्रं इच्छति - इन्द्रीयति ; इन्द्रीयतेः सन् - इन्दिद्रीयिषति ; नन्द्राः संयोगादयः इति द्विर्वचनं न प्राप्नोति ।

If two contiguous consonants take the designation *saṁyōga*, *d* of *ndr* in the word *indrīyati* which means 'he desires Indra', cannot be doubled on the strength of the *sūtra Nandrāḥ saṁyōgādayaḥ* (6, 1, 3) when *indrīyati* is followed by *san*, since it becomes the *ādi* of the *saṁyōga dr;* consequently the desired form *indidrīyiṣati* cannot be achieved.

न वाज्विधेः

न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् ? अज्विधेः ; न्द्राः संयोगादयो न द्विरुच्यन्ते ; अजादेरिति वर्तते ।

This objection cannot stand. Why? The *pratiṣēdha* depends upon the presence of a vowel; unqualified *ndr* are not prohibited from doubling; the word *ajādēḥ* is taken in the *sūtra Nandrāḥ saṁyōgādayaḥ* from the previous *sūtra Ajādēr dvitīyasya* (6, 1, 2).

अथ यद्येवं बहूनां संयोगसंज्ञा अथापि द्वयोर्द्वयोः, किं गतमेतदियता सूत्रेण आहोस्वित् अन्यतरस्मिन् पक्षे भूयः सूत्रं कर्तव्यम् ?

Let it be that more than two contiguous consonants get the designation *saṁyōga* or every two. Will this *sūtra* satisfy

1, 3. संयोगः is another reading.

2. संयोगसंज्ञा is another reading.

both the cases or is it necessary to expand it by adding something ?

गतमित्याह

It may be said that this *sūtra* satisfies both.

कथम् ?

How ?

यदा तावद् बहूनां संयोगसंज्ञा, तदैवं विग्रहः करिष्यते — अविद्यमानमन्तरमेषाम् इति । यदा द्वयोर्द्वयोः संयोगसंज्ञा, तदैवं विग्रहः करिष्यते — अविद्यमाना अन्तरा एषाम् इति ।

When more than two take the designation *saṁyōga*, the word *anantarāḥ* is split *avidyamānam antaram ēṣām ;* when every two get the designation *saṁyōga*, it is split *avidyamānā antarā ēṣām*.

Note : If both the cases are satisfied by this *sūtra*, how can the plural-suffix in *halaḥ* in the *sūtra* be justified? *Kāiyaṭa* answers this question by saying *hala iti jātāu bahuvacananirdēśāt*. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says *vastutō halāu ca halaśca ityēkaśēṣaḥ*. He bases his view on the following lines of *Mahābhāṣya* under the *sūtra Svaritāt saṁhitāyām anudāttānām* (1, 2, 39) :—*ēkaśēṣanirdēśōyam – anudāttasya ca anudāttayōśca anudāttānām ca anudāttānām*. The word *anantarāḥ* also should be taken as the *ēkaśēṣa* thus — *anantarāu ca anantarāśca anantarāḥ*.

द्वयोश्चैवान्तरा कश्चिद् विद्यते वा न वा ।

Is there anything between the two or not ?

एवमपि बहूनामेव प्राप्नोति ।

(If you say that there is nothing between the two), the same holds good for more than two.

यान् हि भवान् अत्र षष्ठ्या प्रतिनिर्दिशति, एतेषामन्येन व्यवाये न भवितव्यम् ।

If there is anything between every two of the group which you refer to by the sixth case, it cannot get the designation *saṁyōga.*

अस्तु तर्हि समुदाये संज्ञा ?

If so, let the designation go to more than two.

ननु चोक्तं समुदाये संयोगादिलोपो मस्जेः ?

Has it not been said that, in that case, the form from the root *masj* cannot take the elision of the first letter of the *saṁyōga ?*

नैष दोषः ; वक्ष्यत्येतत् 'अन्त्यात्पूर्वो मस्जेर्मिदनुषङ्गसंयोगादिलोपार्थम्' इति ।

This defect is removed since *Vārttikakāra* is going to mention (under the *sūtra Midacōntyāt paraḥ* 1, 1, 47) that *mit (i.e.) num-āgama* comes just before the final letter of *masj* for the sake of the elision of *nakāra* and *sakāra* when the latter has to be elided as *saṁyōgādi.* [1]

1. *Tumasjo* (*masj*) is the root ; in *masj+trc* and *masj+tum, numāgama* is enjoined by the *sūtra Masjinaśōrjhali* (7, 1, 60). Here on the strength of the *vārttika* mentioned under *Midacōntyāt paraḥ, n* is placed before *j* ; hence we have *masnj+trc and masnj+tum.* Now *s* which is *saṁyōgādi* is dropped by the *sūtra Skōḥ saṁyōgādyōrantē ca* (8, 2, 29) ; then *j* is changed to *g* by the *sutra Cōḥ kuḥ* (8, 2, 30) ; which is again changed to *k* by *Khari ca* (8, 4, 55) and *n* is changed to *anusvāra* by *Naścāpadāntasya jhali* (8, 3, 24) and then *ṅ* by *Anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* (8, 4, 58) hence we get the forms *maṅktā* and *maṅktum. Anuṣaṅga* means *nakāra.*

In *masj+ta, n* before *j* by *Masjinaśōrjhali* ; *ta* is replaced by *na* by the *sūtra Ōditaśca* (8, 2, 45) and the *saṁyōgādi s* is dropped by the *sūtra Aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti* (6, 4, 24), *j* is replaced by *g* and we get the form *magna.*

अथवा अविशेषेण संयोगसंज्ञा विज्ञास्यते द्वयोरपि बहूनामपि ; तत्र द्वयोर्या संयोगसंज्ञां तदाश्रयो लोपो भविष्यति ।

Or it is taken without any discrimination that two consonants or more get the designation *saṁyōga*. Where two get it, the elision depending upon the two will operate

यदप्युच्यते 'इह च निग्लैयात् निग्लायात् निम्लैयात् निम्लायात् इति वान्यस्य संयोगादेः इत्येत्वं न प्राप्नोति' इति, अङ्गेन संयोगादिं विशेषयिष्यामः अङ्गस्य संयोगादेः इति ; एवं तावत्सर्वमाङ्गं परिहृतम् ।

We shall restrict the denotation of *saṁyōgādi* by taking *aṅga* as its adjunct in the place where it was said that *ā* of the root *glā* and *mlā* cannot be replaced by *ē* optionally by the *sūtra Vānyasya saṁyōgādēḥ* ; thus shall we solve all cases which pertain to *aṅgādhikāra*.

यदप्युच्यते 'इह च गोमान् करोति यवमान्करोति इति संयोगान्तस्य लोपः इति लोपो न प्राप्नोति' इति, पदेन संयोगान्तं विशेषयिष्यामः पदस्य संयोगान्तस्य इति ।

We shall restrict the denotation of *saṁyōgānta* by taking *pada* as its adjunct in the place where it was said that *t* in *gōmānkarōti* and *yavamānkarōti* cannot be dropped on the strength of the *sūtra Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ*.

यदप्युच्यते 'इह च निग्लानः इति संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः इति निष्ठानत्वं न प्राप्नोति इति, धातुना संयोगादिं विशेषयिष्यामः धातोः संयोगादेः इति ।

We shall restrict the denotation of *saṁgōgādi* by taking *dhātu* as its adjunct in the place where it was said that *niṣṭhānatvam* may not take place in *nirglāna* and *nirmlāna* by the *sūtra Saṁyōgādērātō dhātōryaṇutaḥ*.

Note : It is not known why the *Vārttikakāra* has not read the *Vārttika Antyāt pūrvō masjērmid anuṣanga saṁyōgādilōpārtham* here, so that it may answer his *pūrvapakṣavārttika* '*samudāyē saṁyōgādilōpō masjeḥ*.' As regards this third topic, there is no difference of opinion between *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.

IV

स्वरानन्तर्हितवचनम्

The word *anantarā* in the *sūtra* should be qualified by the word *svarāiḥ*.

स्वरैरनन्तर्हिता हलः संयोगसंज्ञा भवन्ति इति वक्तव्यम् ।

It should be said that the consonants which are not intercepted by sonants take the designation *saṁyōga*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

Why ?

व्यवहितानां मा भूत्, पचति पनसम् ।

So that the designation may not reach those that are intercepted as *s* and *m* in the word *panasam* which are intercepted by the sonant *a*.

ननु चानन्तरा इत्युच्यते, तेन व्यवहितानां न भविष्यति ।

Oh! the word *anantarā* is mentioned in the *sūtra* ; through it the designation will not reach those that are intercepted.

दृष्टमानन्तर्यं व्यवहितेऽपि

Ānantarya is mentioned even with reference to objects which are intercepted (by others.)

व्यवहितेऽपि अनन्तरशब्दो दृश्यते ; तद्यथा — अनन्तराविमौ ग्रामौ इत्युच्यते, तयोश्चैवान्तरा नद्यश्च पर्वताश्च भवन्ति ।

The word *anantara* is used even with reference to objects which are intercepted. For instance the expression *anantarāu imāu grāmāu* (these two villages are adjoining ones) is generally used even though there are rivers and mountains dividing them.

यदि तर्हि व्यवहितेऽप्यनन्तरशब्दो भवति, आनन्तर्यवचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् ?

If then the word *anantara* is used even with reference to intercepted objects, what is the purpose served by the word *anantarāḥ* in the *sūtra ?*

आनन्तर्यवचनं किमर्थमिति चेदेकप्रतिषेधार्थम्

The mention of *anantarā* is to avoid the designation to be applied to one.

एकस्य हलः संयोगसंज्ञा मा भूद् इति ।

So that the designation *saṁyōga* may not go to one consonant.

किं च स्याद् यद्येकस्य हलः संयोगसंज्ञा स्यात् ?

What will happen if one consonant gets the designation *saṁyōga ?*

इयेष उवोष, 'इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः' इति आम् प्रसज्येत ।

The *s* in *iyēṣa* and *uvōṣa* will get the *saṁyōgasaṁjñā* and consequently the preceding *i* will be considered *guru* by the *sūtra Saṁyōgē guru* and consequently the affix *ām* will happen in *liṭ* by the *sūtra Ijādēśca gurumatōऽnṛcchaḥ* (3, 1, 35). The result is the forms *iyēṣa* and *uvōṣa* cannot be obtained.)

न वातज्जातीयव्यवायात्

Not necessary since the interception is by unlike ones.

न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् ? अतज्जातीयस्य व्यवायात् । अतज्जातीयकं हि लोके व्यवधायकं भवति ।

This difficulty does not arise. Why ? The interception is only by the unlike; for the unlike alone stands between the like ones in the world.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते अतज्जातियकं लोके व्यवधायकं भवति इति ?

How is it known that the unlike alone divides the like ?

एवं हि कश्चित् कश्चित् पृच्छति 'अनन्तरे एते ब्राह्मणकुले ? इति । स आह 'नानन्तरे, वृषलकुलमनयोरन्तरा ' इति ।

Some one asks another thus: 'Are these two brahman houses adjoining (*i e.*) do they not have any *antara?* He replies, 'No, they are not *anantarē* (adjoining); a house of a *śūdra* is between them.'

किं पुनः कारणं क्वचिदतज्जातीयकं व्यवधायकं भवति क्वचिन्न ?

Why is it that the unlike sometimes intercedes and some-times not?

सर्वत्रैव ह्यतज्जातीयकं व्यवधायकं भवति ।

The unlike always intercedes.

कथम् अनन्तराविमौ ग्रामौ इति ?

How is it then such a usage as these two villages are adjoining?

ग्रामशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः । अस्त्येव शालासमुदाये वर्तते; तद्यथा ग्रामो दग्ध इति । अस्ति वाटपरिक्षेपे वर्तते; तद्यथा ग्रामं प्रविष्ट इति । अस्ति मनुष्येषु वर्तते; तद्यथा ग्रामो गतः, ग्राम आगत इति । अस्ति सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते; तद्यथा ग्रामो लब्ध इति । तद्यः सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते तमभिसमीक्ष्य एतत् प्रयुज्यते अनन्तराविमौ ग्रामौ इति ।

The word *grāma* has many denotations. It denotes group of houses, as in '*grāma* is burnt.' It denotes garden etc. serving as the outer limit or boundary, as in 'he has entered *grāma*.' It denotes the inhabitants, as in '*grāma* has left and *grāma* has returned.' It denotes everything mentioned above along with the forest ridge etc. (including a river) which serve as the boundary, as in '*grāma* has been captured.' Hence the word *grāmāu* in the expression *anantarāu imāu grāmāu* denotes what is mentioned last.

Note : The use of the word *asti* in sentences like *astyēva śālāsamudāyē vartatē* deserves notice. Some may consider it as an expletive. But it seems to me that it is used in the sense of 'it' in the same way as *asmi* is used in the sense of 'I', where there is *vivakṣā* only to the *pratyayārtha* and not to the *prakṛtyartha*.

सर्वत्रैव अतज्जातीयकं व्यवधायकं भवति ।

In all cases it is the unlike alone that intercedes the like ones.

Note : Some scholars hold that the word *grāma* has different connotations and hence they are separate words; while others think that it denotes differently on different occasions and hence the word is only one.

मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः (1, 1, 8)

There are *three* topics here, of which two are sponsored by the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* and the last by the *Vārttikakāra*. They are (1) the derivation of the word मुखनासिकावचनः (2) the need or otherwise of the word मुख in मुखनासिकावचनः and (3) the *itarētarāśrayatā* of *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin*.

I

किमिदं मुखनासिकावचन इति ?

What is this *mukhanāsikāvacana ?* (*i. e.*) what is meant by it ?

मुखं च नासिका च मुखनासिकं, मुखनासिकं वचनम् अस्य सोऽयं मुखनासिकावचनः ।

The word *mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound of the words *mukhanāsikam* and *vacanam*, where *mukhanāsikam* is a *dvandva* compound of *mukham* and *nāsikā*.

Note: *Mukham* here means *mouth* and *vacanam* means *the place of articulation of sounds.*

यद्येवं, मुखनासिकवचन इति प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the compound word should be *mukhanāsikavacanaḥ.*

Note: Since *mukha* and *nāsikā* are the limbs of animals, they componnd together as *mukhanāsikam.*

निपातनाद्दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति ।

The lengthening may take place by *nipātana.*

Note: Since *Mahābhāṣyakāra* has taken the view *bōdhakānyēva nipātanāni* under the *sūtra Sārvādīni sarvanāmāni* (1, 1, 27), *mukhanāsikāvacanam,* if it is taken as a *nipātana,* should suggest that *mukhanāsikavacanam* is incorrect. Hence the next alternative is suggested.

अथवा मुखनासिकम् आवचनमस्य सोऽयं मुखनासिकावचनः ।

Or it is taken as the compound of *mukhanāsikam* and *āvacanam.*

अथ किमिदम् आवचनम् इति ।

Now what is this *āvacanam?* (*i.e.*) what does *āvacanam* mean ?

ईषद्वचनमावचनम्; किञ्चिन्मुखवचनं किञ्चिन्नासिकावचनम् ।

Āvacanam means *partial vacana;* partially *mukhavacana* and partially *nāsikāvacana.*

Note: Since the element *ā* which gives the sense of being partial has to qualify *mukha* and *nāsikā,* the formation of the compound with *mukhanāsikam* and *āvacanam* is not easy. Hence the next alternative is suggested.

मुखद्वितीया वा नासिका वचनमस्य सोऽयं मुखनासिकावचनः ।

Mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ is formed from *mukhanāsikā* and *vacanam* where *mukhanāsikā* is split into *mukhadvitīyā nāsikā* (Here *dvītīyaḥ* means *sahāyaḥ*).

Note : *Mukhadvitīyā nāsikā* should mean the nose near the mouth, since *vacanam* is taken to mean the place of articulation. The expression-nose near the mouth does not give a clear idea. Hence the next alternative is suggested.

मुखोपसंहिता वा नासिका वचनमस्य सोऽयं मुखनासिकावचनः ।

Mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ is formed of *mukhanāsikā* and *vacanam* where *mukhanāsikā* is split into *mukhōpasaṁhitā nāsikā*.

Note : 1. Here the word means that which has the portion bordered by mouth and nose as the place of articulation (*i. e.*) the portion near the uvula.

Note : 2. *Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit, Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* and others prefer to take *vacana* mean *uccāraṇa* and hence according to them the word *mukhanāsikā-vacanaḥ* means that which is pronounced through the nose along with the mouth. To give prominence to nose, *mukhanāsikā* is split *mukhasahitā nāsikā*.

II

अथ मुखग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

Now what is the need for the mention of the word *mukha* (in the *sūtra*) ?

नासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः इति इयत्युच्यमाने यमानुस्वाराणामेव प्रसज्येत ; मुखग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read thus *nāsikāvacanō'nunāsikaḥ* without the word *mukha*, the designation will reach only *yamas* and *anusvāra* (and not *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n* and *m*) ; if, on the other hand, the word *mukha* is mentioned, there will be no defect.

अथ नासिकाग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is then the need for the mention of the word *nāsikā* (in the *sūtra*) ?

मुखवचनोऽनुनासिकः इति इयत्युच्यमाने कचटतपानामेव प्रसज्येत ; नासिकाग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read thus—*mukhavacanō'nunāsikaḥ* omitting the word *nāsikā*, the designation will be liable to reach *k, c, ṭ, t, p* etc. and not *anusvāra* and *yama* ; but, on the other hand, if the word *nāsikā* is mentioned, there will be no defect.

Note : *K, c, ṭ, t* and *p* are *upalakṣaṇas* to the other sounds of their respective *varga* and to semi-vowels and fricatives.

मुखग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम् ।

It is possible to manage without the word *mukha* in the *sūtra*.

केनेदानीमुभयवचनानां भविष्यति ?

How will the sounds whose place of articulation is both get the designation *anunāsika* ?

प्रासादवासिन्यायेन । तद्यथा, केचित् प्रासादवासिनः केचिद् भूमिवासिनः केचिद् उभयवासिनः । तत्र ये प्रासादवासिनो गृह्यन्ते ते प्रासादवासिग्रहणेन ; ये भूमिवासिनो गृह्यन्ते ते भूमिवासिग्रहणेन ; ये तु उभयवासिनो गृह्यन्ते एव ते प्रासादवासिग्रहणेन भूमिवासिग्रहणेन च । एवमिहापि, केचिन्मुखवचनाः केचिन्नासिकावचनाः केचिदुभयवचनाः । तत्र ये मुखवचना गृह्यन्ते ते मुख-

ग्रहणेन ; ये नासिकावचना गृह्यन्ते ते नासिकाग्रहणेन ; ये उभयवचना गृह्यन्ते एव ते मुखग्रहणेन नासिकाग्रहणेन च ।

Through the *prāsādavāsinyāya*. It is thus :—Some are residents of upper storey, some are of the down-floor and some are of both. Of them, the residents ot the upper storey come into operation if the word upper-storey-resident is mentioned; those of the down-floor come into operation if the word down-floor-resident is mentioned; those who reside in both come into operation both when the word upper-storey-resident is mentioned and when the word down-floor-resident is mentioned. Similary here also there are certain sounds which have mouth for their place of articulation, there are some which have nose for their place of articulation and there are others which have both of them for their place of articulation. Of them the mouth-sounds come into operation when the word *mukha* is mentioned, the nasal sounds come into operation when the word *nāsika* is mentioned and those that are both come into operation when either the word *mukha* or *nāsikā* is mentioned.

भवेदुभयवचनानां सिद्धम्; यमानुस्वाराणामपि प्राप्नोति ।

It is accomplished with reference to those sounds which have both the mouth and the nose as the place of articulation; the same may happen to *yamas* and *anusvāra*.

नैव दोषो न प्रयोजनम् ।

But there is neither advantage nor disadvantage in it.

III

इतरेतराश्रयं तु

But it is open to interdependence.

का इतरेतराश्रयता ?

How is it, the state of interdependence ?

सतोऽनुनासिकस्य संज्ञया भवितव्यम्; संज्ञया च नाम अनुनासिको भाव्यते; तदितरेतराश्रयं भवति ।

Designation is given to that (*anunāsika*) which already exists and it is made to exist as such through the designation. Hence (the flaw of) interdependence arises.

इतरेतराश्रयाणि कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ।

Objects which are accessible to the flaw of interdependence are not achieved.

अनुनासिकसंज्ञायामितरेतराश्रये उक्तम्

It has been answered about *itarētarāśrayatā* which is mentioned here with reference to *anunāsikasaṁjñā*.

किमुक्तम्?

What has been answered?

सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात् इति ।

The object is accomplished since words are perpetual.

नित्याः शब्दाः; नित्येषु शब्देषु सतोऽनुनासिकस्य संज्ञा क्रियते; न संज्ञया अनुनासिको भाव्यते ।

Words exist perpetually; designation is given to the *anunāsikas* among the sounds which already exist; *anunāsika* is not made to exist through the designation.

यदि तर्हि नित्याः शब्दाः, किमर्थं शास्त्रम्?

If then words perpetually exist, what is the purpose served by the Science of Grammar?

किमर्थं शास्त्रमिति चेत् निवर्तकत्वात् सिद्धम् ।

If it is asked what for the Science of Grammar is, it is useful, being restrictive in nature.

निवर्तकं शास्त्रम् । कथम्? आङ्सायविशेषेणोपदिष्टोऽननुनासिकः ; तस्य सर्वत्र अननुनासिकबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता: तत्रानेन निवृत्तिः क्रियते 'छन्दस्यचि परत आङोऽननुनासिकस्य प्रसङ्गेऽनुनासिकः साधुर्भवति' इति ।

Śāstra is restrictive in nature. How? The *āṅ* is said to be non-nasal; when it is considered that it is so everywhere, the *sūtra Āṅō'nunāsikaśchandasi* (6, 1, 126) restricts its application and says that *āṅ* in Vedas is nasal if it is followed by a vowel.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् (1-1-9)

There are *three* topics dealt with here. They are (1) the four-fold splitting of the compound word *tulyāsyaprayatnam*; (2) the need or otherwise of the addition of the word *tasya* in the *sūtra* and (3) the necessity of declaring that *ṛ* and *ḷ* are *like* sounds.

I

1. किमिदं तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नम् इति? [1]

What is it that is known by the expression *tulyāsya-prayatna*?

तुलया सम्मितं तुल्यम्; आस्यं च प्रयत्नश्च आस्यप्रयत्नम्; तुल्यास्यं च तुल्यप्रयत्नं च सवर्णसंज्ञं भवति ।

Tulyam means the state of being balanced; *āsya-prayatnam* is a *dvandva* compound of *āsyam* and *prayatnaḥ*; that which has the same *āsya* and the same *prayatna* as a another becomes *like* to it (*i.e.*) *tulyāsyaprayatnam* is taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound thus:—*tulyam āsyaprayatnam yasya tat*.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* mentions that the word *tulyam* is no longer used in its derivative sense as the words *pravīṇa, kuśala, pratilōma* and *anulōma* and its

1 This is not found in manuscripts and certain editions.

present sense is *sadṛśa*. *Annambhaṭṭa* gives the derivative meaning of the above four words thus :-*prakṛṣṭō vīṇāyām*, *kuśān lāti*, *lōmāni anugataḥ* and *lōmāni pratigataḥ*.

किं पुनरास्यम् ?

What is meant by the word *āsyam* ?

लौकिकमास्यम् — ओष्ठात्प्रभृति प्राक्काकलकात् ।

(Evidently) the mouth as is known to the world, which extends from the lips to the pharynx.

कथं पुनरास्यम् ?

How is it then derived ?

अस्यन्ति अनेन वर्णान् इति आस्यम् ।

Āsyam is that through which letters are *produced* if) *vyakti* is taken into consideration) and are *exhibited* (if *jāti* is taken into consideration.)

अन्नमेतदास्यन्दते इति वा आस्यम् ।

Or *āsyam* is that which secretes saliva when it comes in contact with food or which is made to secrete saliva by the food.

अथ कः प्रयत्नः ?

Now what is *prayatna ?*

प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः, प्रपूर्वाद्यततेर्भावसाधनो नङ्प्रत्ययः ।

Prayatna means the mode of articulation and it is formed by adding the preposition *pra* before the root *yat* and the suffix *na* in the sense of *bhāva*.

यदि लौकिकमास्यम्, किमस्योपादाने प्रयोजनम्? सर्वेषां हि तत्तुल्यम् ।

If *āsya* means mouth as is interpreted by the world, what is the use of mentioning it, since it is common to all letters ?

वक्ष्यत्येतत् प्रयत्नविशेषणमास्योपादानम् इति ।

He is going to say that the mention of *āsya* is that it may serve as an adjunct to *prayatna*.

Note: This line tells us the defect in splitting *tulyāsya-prayatnam* as *āsyam ca prayatnaśca āsyaprayatnam, tulyam āsyaprayatnam yasya tat* and also introduces us to the second mode of splitting the same.

सवर्णसंज्ञायां भिन्नदेशेष्वतिप्रसङ्गः प्रयत्नसाम्यात्

Liability of letters born in different places to be considered *like* on account of their having the same *prayatna*.

सवर्णसंज्ञायां भिन्नदेशेष्वतिप्रसङ्गो भवति जबगडदशाम् । किं कारणम् ? प्रयत्नसाम्यात्; एतेषां हि समानः प्रयत्नः ।

The designation *savarṇa* is liable to reach the letters like *j, b, g, ḍ* and *d* which have different places of articulation; Why? On account of their having the same mode of articulation; for these have the same mode of articulation.

Note: Here the compound *tulyāsyaprayatnam* is split thus :— *āsyē prayatnaḥ-āsyaprayatnaḥ; tulyaḥ āsyaprayatnaḥ yasya tat.* Here the place of articulation is not taken into account and the *bāhyaprayatna* which is not a deciding factor is taken into account. Hence is the defect.

सिद्धं त्वास्ये तुल्यदेशप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्

The object is accomplished by reading the *sūtra* thus :— *āsyē tulyadēśaprayatnam savarṇam* (which means that which has the same place of articulation and the same mode of

articulation within the mouth as another letter becomes *like* to it.)

सिद्धमेतत् । कथम्? आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः प्रयत्नश्च ते सवर्णसंज्ञा भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् ।

It is accomplished. How? Those which have the same place of articulation and the same mode of articulation within the mouth should be taken as *like* etters.

एवमपि किमास्योपादाने प्रयोजनम्? सर्वेषां हि तत् तुल्यम् ।

What is the need for the word *āsya* even in this interpretation, since it is the same for all letters?

प्रयत्नविशेषणमास्योपादानम् । सन्ति हि आस्याद् बाह्याः प्रयत्नास्ते हापिता भवन्ति । तेषु सत्सु असत्स्वपि सवर्णसंज्ञा सिद्धा भवति ।

Mention of *āsya* is that it may serve as an adjunct of *prayatna*. Consequently the *prayatnas* which are outside the mouth will be avoided; the designation of *savarṇa* exists whether there is agreement in them or not.

के पुनस्ते?

What are they?

विवारसंवारौ, श्वासनादौ, घोषवदघोषता, अल्पप्राणता महाप्राणता इति ।

They are *vivāra* and *saṁvāra*, *śvāsa* and *nāda*, *ghōṣavattā* and *aghōṣavattā*, *alpaprāṇatā* and *mahāprāṇatā*

Note: The first six are due to the position of vocal chords. If they stand very close to each other, very narrow space is left between them and hence there is *saṁvāra*; the air from the wind-pipe strikes against them and hence there is *nāda*; consequently resonant sound is produced on the other side in the direction of the mouth aud hence there is *ghōṣa*. If, on the other hand, they stand away from each other, there is openness or *vivāra*,

the air escapes without obstruction (*i.e.*) *śvāsa* and hence very little voice is produced (*i. e.*) *aghōṣa*. If great quantity of air is spent in pronunciation, it is *mahāprāṇa* and if less quantity of air is spent, it is *alpaprāṇa*.

तत्र वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीया विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदानाः अघोषाश्च; एकेऽल्पप्राणाः, अपरे महाप्राणाः । तृतीयचतुर्थाः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः [1]; एकेऽल्पप्राणा अपरे महाप्राणाः । यथा तृतीयास्तथा पञ्चमा आनुनासिक्यवर्जम्; आनुनासिक्यमेषामधिको गुणः ।

Of them the first and the second letters of each *varga* have *vivāra, śvāsa* and *aghōṣatā*; some (the first letters) have *alpaprāṇatā* and others (the second letters) have *mahāprāṇatā*. The third and the fourth letters (of each *varga*) have *saṁvāra nāda* and *ghōṣavattā*; some (the third letters) have *alpa-prāṇatā* and others (the fourth letters) have *mahāprāṇatā*. The fifth are of the nature of the third except being nasal; they have the additional characteristic of being nasal sounds.

Note: *Nāda* and *śvāsa* are the immediate effects of *saṁvāra* and *vivāra*. This is clearly suggested by the word *anupradāna* in the *bhāṣya*.

एवमप्यवर्णस्य सवर्णसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, बाह्यं ह्यास्यात् स्थानमवर्णस्य ।

Even then the letter *a* cannot be *like* to any other letter, since its place of articulation is beyond the mouth.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* says that, in the opinion of some, *a* is produced below pharynx near the region of the collar-bone.

सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमेक इच्छन्ति ।

Others opine that the whole mouth is the place of articulation of *a*.

1. It is better if we have *ca* at the end as in the previous sentence.

Note: This suggests that *Vārttikakāra* does not agree with the former opinion regarding the place of articulation of *a*.

एवमपि व्यपदेशो न प्रकल्पते 'आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः' इति ।

Even then the expression *āsyē yēṣām tulyō dēśaḥ* cannot convey any meaning.

Note: Since the whole *āsya* is the place of articulation of *a*, the expression *āsyē dēśaḥ* which means *āsyē āsyam* is meaningless.

व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन व्यपदेशो भविष्यति ।

Though the *āsya* and *dēśa* are identically the same, they are considered to be different in the mind of the speaker and the expression *āsyē dēśaḥ* is used (like *rāhōḥ śiraḥ.*)

सिध्यति ; सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते ।

Yes, the desired object is completely achieved ; but the *sūtra* (*Tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam*) is recast into *Āsyē tulyadēśaprayatnam savarṇam.*

यथान्यासमेवास्तु ।

Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तम् सवर्णसंज्ञायां भिन्नदेशेष्वतिप्रसङ्गः ; प्रयत्नसामान्यात् इति ।

Oh, it was said that the designation *savarṇa* is liable to reach the letters having different *places* of articulation on account of their having the same *mode* of articulation.

नैष दोषः, न हि लौकिकमास्यम् ।

This defect cannot stand ; for *āsya* does not mean *mouth.*

किं तर्हि ?

What then ?

तद्धितान्तमास्यम् — आस्ये भवम् आस्यम्; शरीरावयवाद्यत् ।

It is a word having *taddhita* suffix at the end. It means *that which exists in the mouth*; its formation is based on the *sūtra Śarīrāvayavācca* (4, 3, 55) which enjoins the *pratyaya yat*.

किं पुनरास्ये भवम् ?

What is it that exists in the mouth ?

स्थानं करणं च ।

The place of articulation and the mode of articulation (*ābhyantaraprayatna*).

एवमपि प्रयत्नोऽविशेषितो भवति ।

Even then the word *prayatna* is not restricted in its application (*i. e.*) it may denote *bāhyaprayatna* also.

Note: If the word *āsyam* refers to both *sthāna* and *karaṇa*, the word *prayatna* is unnecessary.

प्रयत्नश्च विशेषितः ।

Prayatna too is restricted in its application.

कथम् ?

How ?

न हि प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः ।

For it does not mean *prayatana*.

किं तर्हि ?

What then ?

प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य, प्रयत्नः ।

Prayatna is derived thus :—*prārambhō yatnasya*.

Note : The expression *prārambhō yatnasya* means *the commencement of the effort.* *Kāiyaṭa* says that the four *prayatnas spṛṣṭa, īṣatspṛṣṭa, vivṛta* and *saṁvṛta* are at the commencement, and the air then returns from the head and reaches the neck so that the *bāhyaprayatnas* come later. But since the exhaling air is converted into speech sounds and since it passes thro' the neck before it comes to the mouth, it is not easy to understand what *Kāiyaṭa* means. *Vāsudēvadīkṣit*, the author of the *Bālamanōramā*, a commentary on *Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit's Siddhānta-kāumudī*, explains *prayatna* as *prakṛṣṭō yatnaḥ*, perhaps feeling the above difficulty.

यदि प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः, एवमपि अवर्णस्य एङोश्च सवर्णसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

Even if *prayatna* is derived as *prārambhō yatnasya*, there is the chance for the letter *a* to become *like* with *ē* and *ō* (since the former part of them are *a*).

प्रश्लिष्टावर्णावेतौ ।

These two *a*'s in *ē* and *ō* are so mixed (with *i* and *u* like dust and water that they cannot be separated.)

अवर्णस्य तर्हि ऐचोश्च सवर्णसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the letter *a* becomes *savarṇa* with *āi* and *āu* (since their former part is *a* and it is distinctly heard separated from the latter part *i* and *u*.)

विवृततरावर्णावेतौ ।

These two *akāras* are more open than *akāra*.

एतयोरेव तर्हि मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

Then these two—*āi* and *āu* become like with each other.

नैतौ तुल्यस्थानौ ।

These two do not have the same place of articulation.

उदात्तादीनां तर्हि सवर्णसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the *udātta a* etc. cannot be treated as like with *anudātta a, svarita a* (since it is determined only within the mouth whether *a* is *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* and consequently their *ābhyantaraprayatna* is different.)

अभेदका उदात्तादयः ।

Udātta etc. are not the discriminating elements to decide the *sāvarṇya.*

Note: Since *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* are not taken as the discriminating elements to decide the *sāvarṇya*, they are considered as *bāhyaprayatnas.*

अथवा किं न एतेन — प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः इति ।

Or what do we gain by taking this way that *prayatna* is to be split as *prārambhō yatnasya* ?

प्रयतनमेव प्रयत्नः ; तदेव च तद्धितान्तमास्यम् । यत्समानं तदाश्रयिष्यामः ।

Prayatna is the same as *prayatanam* ; *āsya* is the same word with the *taddhita* suffix at the end. We shall take that which is common as the deciding factor.

किं सति भेदे ? [1]

Are we to do it even when there is dissimilarity ?

सति इत्याह ।

They say, 'Yes, when there is dissimilarity'.

सत्येव हि भेदे सवर्णसंज्ञया भवितव्यम् ।

1. Some editions read किं सति । भेदे सतीत्याह ।

For, one can be *savarṇa* to another only when there is dissimilarity between them.

कुत एतत्?

How is it?

भेदाधिष्ठाना हि सवर्णसंज्ञा । यदि हि यत्र सर्वं समानं तत्र स्यात् सवर्णसंज्ञावचनमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

The designation *savarṇa* has the dissimilarity for its basis. If one is identically the same as another, the *sūtra* enjoining *likeness* is unnecessary.

यदि तर्हि सति भेदे किञ्चित् समानमिति कृत्वा सवर्णसंज्ञा भविष्यति, शकारच्छकारयोः षकारठकारयोः सकारथकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ; एतेषां हि सर्वमन्यत्समानं करणवर्जम् ।

If the designation *savarṇa* is applied to two letters which have some similarity even though they are dissimilar in certain other respects, each of the pairs *ś* and *ch*, *ṣ* and *ṭh* and *s* and *th* will become similar; for they are similar in all respects other than in *ābhyantaraprayatna* (*i.e.*) the former of each pair is a fricative and the latter is an explosive.

एवं तर्हि प्रयतनमेव प्रयत्नः ; तदेव हि तद्धितान्तमास्यम् ; न त्वयं द्वन्द्वः आस्यं च प्रयत्नश्च आस्यप्रयत्नम् इति ।

If so, *prayatna* is the same as *prayatana* ; *āsyam* is the same word with the *taddhita* suffix at the end ; but it is not *dvandva* thus :—*āsyam ca prayatnaś ca āsyaprayatnam.*

किं तर्हि?

What then?

त्रिपदोऽयं बहुव्रीहिः — तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्न एषाम् इति ।

It is a *bahuvrīhi* compound consisting of three members thus :—*tulyaḥ āsyē prayatnaḥ ēṣām* (i.e.) those who have the

same mode of articulation in their common place of articulation are like.

Note 1 : Here the word *āsya* does not mean *mouth* but the different parts like palate, lips etc. of the mouth. Hence it is *taddhitānta.*

Note 2 : Generally the word in the seventh case deserves to become the first member of the compound.

अथवा पूर्वस्तत्पुरुषः ततो बहुव्रीहिः — तुल्यः आस्ये तुल्यास्यः, तुल्यास्यः प्रयत्नः एषाम् — इति ।

Or the first two words form a *tatpuruṣa* compound thus : *tulyaḥ āsyē — tulyāsyaḥ* ; it with the third word becomes a *bahuvrīhi* compound thus : *tulyāsyaḥ prayatnaḥ ēṣām.*

अथवा परस्तत्पुरुषः ततो बहुव्रीहिः — आस्ये प्रयत्नः आस्यप्रयत्नः, तुल्य आस्यप्रयत्न एषाम् — इति ।

Or the last two form a *tatpuruṣa* thus : *āsyē prayatnaḥ — āsyaprayatnaḥ* ; it then forms a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the first thus :-*tulyaḥ āsyaprayatnaḥ ēṣām.*

II

तस्य

Mention of *tasya.*

तस्य इति तु वक्तव्यम्

The word *tasya* should be mentioned in the *sūtra.*

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

Why ?

यो यस्य तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नः स तस्य सवर्णसंज्ञो यथा स्यात्, अन्यस्य तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नः अन्यस्य सवर्णसंज्ञो मा भूत् ।

That which has the same place of articulation and the same mode of articulation as another should become *like* to it and not one which has the same place of articulation and the same mode of articulation as another may become like to a third which has a different place of articulation and a different mode of articulation but the same as the fourth.

तस्यावचनं वचनप्रामाण्यात्

Non-mention of the word *tasya*, on account of the *prāmāṇya* of the word (*savarṇa*.)

तस्येति न वक्तव्यम् । अन्यस्य तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नोऽन्यस्य सवर्णसंज्ञः कस्मान्न भवति? वचनप्रामाण्यात् — सवर्णसंज्ञावचनसामर्थ्यात् । यदि हि अन्यस्य तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नोऽन्यस्य सवर्णसंज्ञः स्यात् सवर्णसंज्ञावचनमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

The word *tasya* need not be mentioned. How is it that one which is *tulyāsyaprayatna* to a third but different from it does not become *savarṇa*? From the validity of the word (i. e.) from the capacity of the designation *savarṇa*. If one becomes *savarṇa* to another which has a different *āsyaprayatna*, but has the same *āsyaprayatna* as a third, the mention of the designation *savarṇa* is of no use.

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यम्

Or similarity with words of relationship.

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा पुनस्तुल्यमेतत् । तद्यथा — सम्बन्धिशब्दाः मातरि वर्तितव्यम्, पितरि शुश्रूषितव्यम् इति । न चोच्यते, स्वस्यां मातरि, स्वस्मिन् पितरि, इति । सम्बन्धाच्चैतद् गम्यते, या यस्य माता, यश्च यस्य पिता, इति । एवमिहापि तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् इत्यत्र शम्बन्धिशब्दौ एतौ, तत्र सम्बन्धादेतद् गन्तव्यम् — यत्प्रति यत्तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं तत्प्रति तत् सवर्णसंज्ञं भवति इति ।

Or this is similar to words of relationship. This may be explained thus: the injunctions 'treat the mother thus', 'serve the father' are expressions containing words of relationship. Here the word *own* is not made to qualify father or

mother. From the word of relationship it is to be understood own mother and own father. So also here in the *sūtra Tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam,* the two words are related to each other and through this relation it is understood that the letter which has the same *sthāna* and *prayatna* as another, is like to it.

III

ऋकारऌवर्णयोः सवर्णविधिः

Injunction of *sāvarṇya* to r̥ and l̥.

ऋकारऌकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा विधेया, होतृ ऌकारः होतॄकार इति ।

It should be enjoined that r̥ and l̥ are like so that *hōtr̥+l̥kāraḥ* may combine and become *hōtr̥̄kāraḥ.*

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

Why ?

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः इति दीर्घत्वं यथा स्यात् ।

So that r̥ and l̥ may be replaced by r̥̄ by the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ.*

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यत्येतत् सवर्णदीर्घत्वे 'ऋति ऋ वा वचनम्', 'ऌति ऌ वा वचनम्' इति ।

This (r̥ + l̥ = r̥̄) is not the benefit (accrued by *r̥kāra-l̥kārayōḥ savarṇavidhiḥ*) but it is the benefit accrued by the *vārttikas R̥ti r̥ vā vacanam, L̥ti l̥ vā vacanam* which the *Vārttikakāra* is going to mention under the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ.*

तत् सवर्णौ यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् दध्यॢकारः मध्वॢकारः इति ।

(The *vārttika R̥kāral̥kārayōḥ savarṇavidhiḥ* must be mentioned) so that the two *vārttikas R̥ti r̥ vā vacanam* and *L̥ti l̥ vā vacanam* may operate only when the previous vowel is ṛ and is followed by a like vowel and not otherwise, so that they may not operate in the *sandhi* of *dadhi + l̥kāraḥ* and *madhu+l̥kāraḥ*, where the previous vowel is an *ak* other than r̥[1].

सदेतत् सवर्णदीर्घत्वे 'ऋति' इति, एतद् 'ऋतः' इति वक्ष्यामि । ततः 'ऌति'; ऌकारे परत ऌकारो वा भवति; ऋत इत्येव ।

I shall replace *r̥ti* in the *vārttika R̥ti r̥ vā vacanam* under the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* by the word *ṛtaḥ* and read the *vārttika L̥ti l̥ vā vacanam* after it, where *ṛtaḥ* is taken from the previous *vārttika.*

Note : The word *savarṇē* should be taken in the first *vārttika* from the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ.*

तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

It need not be said (i.e.) neither the two *vārttikas* nor the emendation need be said.

अवश्यं तद्वक्तव्यम् ।

It must be said.

'ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञो भवति' इत्युच्यते, न च ऋकार ऌकारो वा अजस्ति ।

The *sūtra Ūkālōjjhrasvadīrghaplutasaṁjñō bhavati* tells us that the *ac* which has one, two or three *mātrās* is called

1. Otherwise there will be chance for *akaḥ* to be taken here from the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ.*

hrasva (short), *dīrgha* (long) and *pluta.* Neither r̥ nor l̥ is an *ac* (i.e.) neither of them comes within the *pratyāhāra ac*, since they are not read in the *Pratyāhārasūtras.*

Note: The r̥ and l̥ noted here are not the sonant r̥ and l̥ which are of *vivṛtaprayatna*, but they are made up of *r + glide* and *l + glide* and hence they are of *īṣatspṛṣṭa-prayatna.*

ऋकारस्य ऌकारस्य वा अच्त्वं वक्ष्यामि ।

I shall make r̥ and l̥ included under *ac.*

तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम्, प्लुतो यथा स्यात् — होतृ-ऋकारः ; होतृकारः ; होतृ३कार इति ; होतृ-ऌकारः-होत्ऌकारः होत्ऌ३कारः इति ।

It should be necessarily done so that both of them may be used as *pluta* thus *hōtṛ३kāraḥ* and *hōtl̥३kāraḥ* which are the compounds of *hōtṛ* and *ṛkāraḥ* and *hōtṛ* and *l̥kāraḥ.*

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ?

Which is better of the two, reading of one *vārttika Ṛkāral̥varṇayōḥ savarṇavidhiḥ* or reading the two *vārttikas* under *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* and making the necessary changes ?

सवर्णसंज्ञावचनमेव ज्यायः ।

Enjoining their *sāvarṇya* is certainly better.

दीर्घत्वं चैव हि सिद्धं भवति ; अपि च ऋकारग्रहणेन ऌकारग्रहणं सन्निहितं भवति — ऋत्यकः, खट्वऋश्यः मालऋश्यः इदमपि सिद्धं भवति — खट्व ऌकारः, मालऌकारः ; वा सुप्यापिशलेः, उपर्कारीयति उपार्कारीयति, इदमपि सिद्धं भवति उपल्कारीयति उपाल्कारीयति ।

For it is achieved that r̥̄ takes the place of r̥ + l̥ ; besides wherever r̥ is mentioned, l̥ also may follow. For instance *khaṭva-l̥kārah* and *māla-l̥kārah* may be formed similar to *khatva-r̥ṣyaḥ* and *māla-r̥ṣyaḥ* on the strength of the *sūtra R̥tyakaḥ* and *upalkārīyati* and *upālkārīyati* similar to *uparkārīyati* and *upārkārīyati* on the strength of the *sūtra Vā supyāpiśalēḥ.*

यदि तर्हि ऋकारग्रहणेन ऌकारग्रहणं सन्निहितं भवति, उरण् रपरः — ऌकारस्यापि रपरत्वं प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said that mention of r̥ may take along with it l̥, then l̥ will be replaced by *ar* in the same way as r̥ which is replaced by *ar* on the strength of the *sūtra Uraṇ raparaḥ.*

ऌकारस्य लपरत्वं वक्ष्यामि ।

I shall state that l̥ will be replaced by *al.*

तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम् असत्यां सवर्णसंज्ञायां विध्यर्थम् । तदेव सत्यां रेफबाधनार्थं भविष्यति ।

It must be stated; for the sake of injuction in the absence of *savarṇasaṁjñā* and for the sake of prohibiting r in its presence.

इह तर्हि 'रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे' इति ऋकारग्रहणं चोदितं मातॄणां पितॄणामित्येतदर्थम् । तदिहापि प्राप्नोति 'कॢप्यमानं पश्य' इति ।

Just as there is *ṇatva* in the words *mātr̥̄ṇām* and *pitr̥̄ṇām* of *n* following r̥ on the strength of the *vārttika R̥varṇānnasya ṇatvam vācyam* under the *sūtra Raṣābhyām nōṇaḥ samānapadē,* so also there is a chance for *n* in *kl̥pyamānam* in the sentence *kl̥pyamānam paśya* to be changed to *ṇ*.

अथ असत्यामपि सवर्णसंज्ञायामिह कस्मान्न भवति प्रक्लृप्यमानं पश्य इति ।

How is ṇatva avoided in praklpyamānam paśya when l is not considered with ṛ on the strength of the sūtra Kṛtyacaḥ (8, 4, 29)?

चुटुतुलशर्व्यवायेन इति वक्ष्यामि । अपर आह — त्रिभिश्च मध्यमैर्वर्गैर्लशसैश्च व्यवाये नेति वक्ष्यामि इति ।

I shall state that ṇatva is prohibited if there is interception by cavarga, ṭavarga, tavarga, l and śar. Another says that there is prohibition of ṇatva at the interception of the three middle vargas l, ś and s.

वर्णैकदेशाश्च वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते इति योऽसौ लृकारे लकारस्तदाश्रयः प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति ।

Prohibition takes place on the basis of l which is taken to exist in l on the maxim that a part of a letter is taken cognisance as a letter.

यद्येवं, नार्थो रषाभ्यां णत्वे ऋकारग्रहणेन । वर्णैकदेशाश्च वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्त इति योऽसौ ऋकारे रेफः तदाश्रयं णत्वं भविष्यति ।

If so, the vārttika, Raṣābhyām ṇatvē ṛkāragrahaṇam is not necessary under the sūtra, Raṣābhyām nō ṇaḥ samānapadē, since r is considered to exist in ṛ and sincea part of a letter is taken cognisance as a letter.

नाज्झलौ (1, 1, 10)

अज्झलोः प्रतिषेधे शकारप्रतिषेधोऽज्झल्त्वात् ।

If there is prohibition (of sāvarṇya) between ac and hal, there is chance for the prohibition (of sāvarṇya) between ś and ś as it is both ac and hal.

अज्झलोः प्रतिषेधे शकारस्य शकारेण सवर्णसंज्ञायाः प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम्? अज्झल्त्वात्; अच्चैव हि शकारो हल् च । कथं तावदच्त्वम्? इकारः सवर्णग्रहणेन शकारमपि गृह्णाति इत्येवमच्त्वम् । हल्षु चोपदेशाद्धल्त्वम्।

If there is prohibition (of *sāvarṇya*) between *ac* and *hal*, there is chance for the prohibition of *sāvarṇya* between *ś* and *ś*. Why? Since it is both *ac* and *hal*; *ś* is both *ac* and *hal*. What, first, makes it *ac*? It is *ac* since *i* takes *ś* also as *savarṇa* by the *savarṇagrāhakasūtra Aṇudit savarṇasya cā pratyayaḥ*. It is *hal* because it is included in the *pratyāhāra hal*.

Note: Since *i* and *ś* both have the palate as the place of articulation and *vivṛtatva* as the *ābhyantaraprayatna*, *ś* is considered *savarṇa* to *i*. Since *i* is included in the *pratyāhāra ac*, *ś* also is considered *ac*.

तत्र को दोषः?

What harm is there?

तत्र सवर्णलोपे दोषः

If so, there is harm with reference to *savarṇalōpa*.

तत्र सवर्णलोपे दोषो भवति — परश्शतानि कार्याणि; झरो झरि सवर्णे इति लोपो न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, there is harm with reference to the elision of *like* letters. The elision by the *sūtra Jharō jhari* does not take place in the word *paraśśatāni* of the expression *paraśśatāni kāryāṇi*.

Note: *Paras* + *śatāni* = *paraśśatāni*. It becomes *paraśśśatāni* by the *sūtra Anaci ca*. If the *sūtra Jharō jhari* does not operate, there is no likelihood for one *ś* to be dropped.

सिद्धमनच्त्वात्

The desired object is achieved on account of its being non-vowel (*anac.*)

सिद्धमेतत् । कथम्? अनच्त्वात् ।

The desired object (the *lōpa* of *śakāra* by the *sūtra Jharō jhari savarṇē*) is achieved. How? Since (*śakāra*) is not an *ac*.

कथमनच्त्वम्?

How is it that it is not an *ac?*

स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम्; ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम्; विवृतमूष्मणाम्; ईषत् इति अनुवर्तते; स्वराणां च विवृतम्; ईषत् इति निवृत्तम् ।

Complete contact of the vocal organs is the *ābhyantara-prayatna* of *sparśas* (explosives); light contact of the vocal organs is that of *antasthas* (semivowels); light openness is that of *ūṣmās* (fricatives): the word *īṣat* is taken here from the previous sentence; complete openness is that of *svaras* (sonants): the word *īṣat* is not taken here.

Note: The three sentences '*spṛṣṭam prayatanam sparśānām*', *īṣatspṛṣṭam antasthānām*, *vivṛtam ūṣmaṇām svarāṇāñ ca* are quotations from the *Śāunaka-prātiśākhya*. From the last sentence it is clear that *openness* was taken as the *prayatna* of both the fricatives and the sonants. *Pāṇiniśikṣā* too says,

Svarāṇām ūṣmaṇāñ cāiva vivṛtaṅ karaṇam smṛtam ।

The earlier grammarians did not recognise any difference in the *ābhyantaraprayatna* of fricatives and sonants Hence *Ācārya Pāṇini* has read this *sūtra Nājjhalāu*.

Vārttikakāra, on the other hand, has noticed the difference in the *ābhyantaraprayatna* between fricatives and sonants, that the former are lightly open sounds and the latter are

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completely open sounds. Hence he has sought a device to interpret the last sentence of the *Prātiśākhya* in a different way. According to this interpretation, the *sūtra Nājjhalāu* is not necessary, since the sonant *i* and the fricative *ś* do not have *tulyaprayatna.*

वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेर्वा

Or on account of the non-completion of the *vākya.*

वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेर्वा पुनः सिद्धमेतत् ।

Or this is achieved through the incompletion of the *vākya.*

किमिदं वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेरिति ।

What is meant by this expression *vākyāparisamāptēḥ* ?

वर्णानामुपदेशस्तावत्; उपदेशोत्तरकाला इत्संज्ञा; इत्संज्ञोत्तरकालः 'आदिरन्त्येन सहेता' इति प्रत्याहारः; प्रत्याहारोत्तरकाला सवर्णसंज्ञा; सवर्णसंज्ञोत्तरकालम् अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः इति सवर्णग्रहणम् । एतेन सर्वेण समुदितेन वाक्येनान्यत्र सवर्णानां ग्रहणं भवति । न चात्र इकारः शकारं गृह्णाति ।

First the fourteen *sūtras* where letters are mentioned; then the designation *it*; then the formation of *pratyāhāra* through the operation of the *sūtra Ādir-antyēna sahētā* ; then the designation of *savarṇa*; then the decision whether any two letters are *savarṇa.* Hence whether any two letters are *savarṇa* or no is decided after the above whole process is complete. Therefore *i* cannot take *ś* as *savarṇa* in the *sūtra Nāijhalāu* on the strength of the *sūtra Aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ.*

Note: Hence *ś* cannot be considered as an *ac.* Consequently the desired object of the *lōpa* by the *sūtra Jharō jhari savarṇē* is achieved. The *sūtra Nājjhalāu,* therefore, is not necessary.

यथैव तर्हीकारः शकारं न गृह्णाति एवमीकारमपि न गृह्णीयात् ।

Just as *i* cannot take *ś* as *savarṇa*, so also it may not take *ī* as *savarṇa*.

तत्र को दोषः ?

What is the harm then ?

कुमारी + ईहते = कुमारीहते, अकः सवर्णे इति दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

The *dīrghasandhi* in *kumārīhatē* by the combination of *kumārī* and *īhatē* does not take place on the strength of the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ*.

नैष दोषः ; यदेतद् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घ इत्यत्र प्रत्याहारग्रहणं, तत्र इकारः ईकारं गृह्णाति, शकारं न गृह्णाति ।

This defect does not arise ; for the mention of *pratyāhāra* in the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* is capable of enabling *i* take *ī* by *savarṇa* and not *ś*.

अपर आह — अज्झलोः प्रतिषेधे शकारप्रतिषेधोऽज्झल्त्वात् — अज्झलोः प्रतिषेधे शकारस्य शकारेण सवर्णसंज्ञायाः प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति ; किं कारणम् ? अज्झल्त्वात् — अच्चैव हि शकारः हल् च । कथं तावदच्त्वम् ? इकारः सवर्णग्रहणेन शकारमपि गृह्णाति इत्येवमच्त्वं, हल्षु उपदेशात् हल्त्वम् ; तत्र को दोषः ? तत्र सवर्णलोपे दोषः — तत्र सवर्णलोपे दोषो भवति — परश्शतानि कार्याणि — झरो झरि सवर्णे इति लोपो न प्राप्नोति । सिद्धमनच्त्वात् — सिद्धमेतत् ; कथम् ? अनच्त्वात् ।

Another says, " *Ajjhalōḥ* .... *anactvāt* " [1]

कथमनच्त्वम् ?

How is it not an *ac* ?

वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेर्वा ।

Or by *vākya-aparisamāpti*.

1. The meaning of this is found at the commencement of this *sūtra*.

उक्ता वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिः ।

Vākya-aparisamāpti has been explained.

अस्मिन्पक्षे वा इत्येतदसमर्थितं भवति ।

The word *vā* does not seem to be appropriately explained in this interpretation.

एतच्च समर्थितम् ।

It is also appropriately explained.

कथम् ? How ?

अस्तु वा शकारस्य शकारेण सवर्णसंज्ञा, मा वा भूत् ।

Let *ś* be *savarṇa* to *ś* or let it not.

ननु चोक्तं, परश्शतानि कार्याणि, झरो झरि सवर्णे इति लोपो न प्राप्नोति इति ।

Has it not been said that the elision by the *sūtra Jharō jhari savarṇē* does not take place in the word *paraśśatani* of the expression *paraśśatāni kāryāṇi ?*

मा भूल्लोपः ।

Let there be no elision.

ननु च भेदो भवति, सति लोपे द्विशकारकम्, असति लोपे त्रिशकारकम् ।

Oh, difference will exist (in the forms); there will be two *śakāras* if there is elision and three *śakāras* if there is no elision.

नास्ति भेदः — असत्यपि लोपे द्विशकारकमेव ।

There is no difference; even when there is no elision, there are only two *śakāras*.

कथम् ? How ?

विभाषा द्विर्वचनम् ।

Reduplication (by the *sūtra Anaci ca*) is only optional.

एवमपि भेदः — असति लोपे कदाचित् द्विशाकारकं कदाचित् त्रिशाकारकम्; सति लोपे द्विशाकारकमेव ।

Even then there is difference — there may be two *śakāras* or three *śakāras* in the absence of the elision and in the presence of the elision there will be only two *śakāras*.

स एष कथं भेदो न?

When will not this difference exist?

स्याद्यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात्, विभाषा तु स लोपः ।

It will exist when the elision is primary, but, on the other hand, it is optional.

यथाभेदस्तथास्तु ।

Let it be taken in such a way as will not give room to any difference.

FOURTH ĀHNIKA ENDS.

FIFTH ĀHNIKA

ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् (1, 1, 11)

There are two topics dealt with here: (1) What is the use of *taparakaraṇa* in *īt, ūt* and *ēt*? (2) Possibility of interpreting *īd-ūd-ēd-dvivacanam* in four ways and the choice of the correct one.

I

किमर्थम् ईदादीनां तपराणां प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा उच्यते ?

Why is the designation *pragṛhya* enjoined to *ī, ū* and *ē* followed by the *anubandha t?*

तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति तत्कालानां सवर्णानां ग्रहणं यथा स्यात् ।

So that their *savarṇas* having the same *mātrā* may get the designation on the strength of the *sūtra Taparas tatkālasya* (1, 1, 70)

केषाम् ?

To which *varṇas*?

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानाम् ।

To *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita.*

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् ?

Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति ?

What then?

प्लुतानां तु प्रगृह्यत्वाप्रसङ्गोऽतत्कालत्वात्[1]

Possibility of *apragṛhyatva* to *plutas* on account of their having different *mātrās*.

प्लुतानां तु प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति ।

The designation *pragṛhya* does not reach *plutas*.

किं कारणम्?

Why?

अतत्कालत्वात्; न हि प्लुतास्तत्कालाः ।

On account of their not having the same *mātrā*; for *plutas* do not have the same *mātrā* as *ī*, *ū* and *ē*.

असिद्धः प्लुतः । तस्यासिद्धत्वात् तत्काला एव भवन्ति ।

Pluta is non-existent. Since it is non-existent, they will have the same *mātrās* as *ī*, *ū* and *ē*.

Note : The *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* is enjoined here in the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* and the *sūtras* dealing with the *kārya* of *pluta* are found in the second *pāda* of the eighth *adhyāya*. On the strength of the *sūtra* *Pūrvatrāsiddham* (8, 2, 1), the operation of any *sūtra* in the last three *pādas* of the eighth chapter is non-existent if any *sūtra* found in *Sapādasaptādhyāyī* begins to operate.

सिद्धः प्लुतः स्वरसन्धिषु ।

In the sandhi of sonants *pluta* is not non-existent.

कथं ज्ञायते सिद्धः प्लुतः स्वरसन्धिषु इति?

1. This *vārttika* is not found in certain editions. It deserves the notice of scholars that this *vārttika* does not have a corresponding *siddhānta-vārttika*.

How is it known that *pluta* is not non-existent in *svarasandhis ?*

यदयं प्लुतः प्रकृत्या इति प्लुतस्य प्रकृतिभावं शास्ति ।

Since he (*Sūtrakāra*) enjoins in the *sūtra Plutapragṛhyā aci nityam* (6, 1, 125) *prakṛtibhāva* (no change) to *pluta.*

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How does it become a *jñāpaka* ?

सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम् ?

Operation needs the object to be operated upon.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit of this *jñāpana* (i. e.) that *pluta* is *siddha* in *svarasandhis* ?

अप्लुतादप्लुत इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

The *sūtra Atō-rōr-aplutād aplutē* (6, 1, 113) need not be said.

किमतो यत्सिद्धः लुतः स्वरसन्धिषु ? संज्ञाविधावसिद्धः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् तत्काला एव भवन्ति ।

What is gained by it if it is *siddha* in *svarasandhis* ? It is not considered *siddha* in *saṁjñāvidhi* and since it is *asiddha*, they will have the same *mātrās* as *ī, ū and ē.*

संज्ञाविधौ च सिद्धः ।

It is *siddha* in *saṁjñāvidhi* also.

कथम् ? How ?

'कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम्', यत्र कार्यं तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम्, प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्या इति उपस्थितमिदं भवति ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् इति ।

From the *paribhāṣā* '*Kāryakālam saṁjñāparibhāṣam*', the *saṁjñā* is to be considered existent where there is *kārya* for

the same. When the *sūtra* *Plutapragṛhyā aci nityam* comes into operation, the *sūtra* *Īd-ūd-ēd dvivacanam pragṛhyam* is considered to exist there.

किं पुनः प्लुतस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञावचने प्रयोजनम्?

What is the benefit that accrues from ascribing the designation *pragṛhya* to *pluta?*

प्रगृह्याश्रयः प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यात् ।

So that it may get no change in sandhi, it having received the designation *pragṛhya.*

मा भूदेवम्; प्लुतः प्रकृत्या इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

It need not be in this manner; *pluta* gets no change in sandhi from the *sūtra* *Plutapragṛhyā aci nityam* directly without getting the designation *pragṛhya.*

नैवं शक्यम्, उपस्थिते हि दोषः स्यात्—'अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते' इति ।

This is not possible since there will be difficulty if the *pluta* is followed by the word *iti* not used in the *Vēdas,* when the *sūtra* '*Aplutavad upasthitē*' operates.

अत्र पठिष्यति आचार्यः वद्वचनं प्लुतकार्यप्रतिषेधार्थम्, प्लुतप्रतिषेधे हि प्रगृह्यप्लुतप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गोऽन्येन विहितत्वात् इति । तस्मात् प्लुतस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञैषितव्या, प्रगृह्याश्रयः प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यात् ।

The *Ācārya* (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read with reference to this (under the *sūtra* *Aplutavad upasthitē* (6, 1, 119) the *vārttikas* *Vadvacanam plutakāryapratiṣēdhārtham* and *Plutapratiṣēdhē hi pragṛhyaplutapratiṣēdhaprasaṅgō'nyēna vihitatvāt.* Hence it is desirable that *pluta* gets the designation *pragṛhya* so that the no-change-sandhi based on *pragṛhyabhāva* may take place.

Note: *Mahābhāṣyakāra* mentions under the *sūtra Aplutavad upasthitē* that *vat* in *aplutavat* suggests that there is no prohibition of its having three *mātrās* but there is the prohibition of its getting *pragṛhya-saṁjñā* and otherwise the *prakṛtibhāva* in *agnī* ३ *iti*, based on *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* may not take place.

यदि पुनः दीर्घाणामतपराणां प्रगृह्यसंज्ञोच्येत, एवमप्येकार एव एकः सवर्णान् गृह्णीयात्, ईकारोकारौ न गृह्णीयाताम् ।

If, the long *ī*, *ū* and *ē* are read in the *sūtra* without *taparakaraṇa* and the designation *pragṛhya* is enjoined to them, it will apply only to the varieties of *ēkāra* and not to the *savarṇas* (i. e. the short *i* and *u* and the pluta *i* and *u*) of *ī* and *ū*.

किं कारणम् ?

Why ?

अनण्त्वात्

Since *ī* and *ū* are not included in the *pratyāhāra aṇ* formed from *a* in the *sūtra Aiuṇ* to *ṇ* in the *sūtra Laṇ* (they not being read there.)

Note: The *taparakaraṇa* with reference to *ī* and *ū* is intended only for the ease of pronunciation (*mukhasukhārtha*).

यदि पुनर्ह्रस्वानामतपराणां प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा उच्यते ।

Suppose *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* is enjoined to the short *i* and *u* without *taparakaraṇa*.

नैवं शक्यं । इहापि प्रसज्येत, अकुर्वहि + अत्र = अकुर्वह्यत्र ।

Even then the desired object is not achieved; for the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* may have a chance to operate when the words *akurvahi* and *atra* come together and prevent the

yaṇbhāva of the final *i* of *akurvahi* and hence the form *akurvahyatra* cannot be achieved.

Note: Though there are only two letters *i* and *u* about which there is discussion, the plural form *hrasvānām* is used. Strictly speaking it is incorrect, since *ē* is not considered short. But it has to be explained by *chatrinyāya*.

तस्माद्दीर्घाणामेव तपराणां प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा वक्तव्या; दीर्घाणां चोच्यमाना प्लुतानां न प्राप्नोति ।

Therefore the long *ī* and *ū* should be read with *taparakaraṇa* (for the sake of ease of pronunciation and for not referring to their *savarṇas*); for that which is enjoined to the long ones should not refer to *pluta* ones.

एवं तर्हि किं न एतेन यत्नेन यत् 'सिद्धः प्लुतः स्वरसन्धिषु' इति । असिद्धः प्लुतः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् तत्काला एव भवन्ति ।

If so, why should we bother about *siddhaḥ plutaḥ svarasandhiṣu*. *Pluta* is *asiddha* and hence they will have the same *mātrās* as *ī*, *ū* and *ē*.

कथं यत्तद् ज्ञापकमुक्तं 'प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि' इति ।

What then about the *jñāpaka* suggested by the *sūtra* *Plutapragṛhyā aci nityam*.

'प्लुतभावी प्रकृत्या' इत्येवमेतद्विज्ञायते ।

It is interpreted thus: that which will become *pluta* takes no-change-*sandhi*.

कथं यत्तत्प्रयोजनम्?

What about the *prayōjana* mentioned with reference to it?

क्रियते तन्न्यास एव अप्लुतादप्लुते इति ।

The expression *aplutād aplutē* is read in the *sūtra* *Atō rōr aplutād aplutē* (6, 1, 113)

एवमपि यत्सिद्धे प्रगृह्यकार्यं तत् प्लुतस्य न प्राप्नोति 'अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः' इति ।

If so, the *pragṛhyakārya* enjoined in the *siddhakāṇḍa* (*Sapādasaptādhyāyī* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*) may not hold good for *pluta*. Hence the *pluta* (in *agnī* ३ *iti*) will be considered as *apragṛhya* and hence the *sūtra Aṇōspragṛhysyānunāsikaḥ* will operate (there so that *ī*३ in *agnī*३ will become nasal).

एवं तर्हि किं न एतेत यत्नेन कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् इति । यथोद्देशमेव संज्ञापरिभाषम् । अत्र चासावसिद्धः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् तत्काला एव भवन्ति ।

If so, why should we stick to the *paribhāṣā Kāryakālam saṁjñāparibhāṣam*. We shall take recourse to the *paribhāṣā Yathōddēśam saṁjñāparibhāṣam*. It is *asiddha* here (with reference to *saṁjñā*) and since it is *asiddha*, they will have the same *mātrās* as *ī*, *ū* and *ē*.

Note: Since there is no *vārttika* in answer to the *vārttika* '*Plutānām tu pragṛhyatvāprasaṅgō tatkālatvād*' in the editions in which it is found, and the same *vārttika* is not found in other editions, it is to be investigated which edition is correct.

II

कथं पुनरिदं विज्ञायते 'ईदादयो यद् द्विवचनम्' इति आहोस्विद् 'ईदाद्यन्तं यद् द्विवचनम्' इति ।

Is this (the expression *īd-ūd-ēd dvivacanam*) to be interpreted as *īdādayō yad dvivacanam* (that which is dual and *īd, ūd or ēd*) or *īdādyantam yad dvivacanam* (that which is dual and ends in *īd, ūd* or *ēd*)?

Note: Nāgēśabhaṭṭa says that the word *anta* means *avayava*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference between them ?

ईदादयो द्विवचनं प्रगृह्या इति चेदन्त्यस्य विधिः

If those which are dual and *īd, ūd* or *ēd* are taken to be *pragṛhyas,* injunction is necessary for those that end in them.

ईदादयो द्विवचनं प्रगृह्या इति चेद् अन्त्यस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा विधेया, पचेते इति, पचेथे इति ।

If *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* is enjoined to those which are dual and *īd, ūd* or *ēd* by this *sūtra,* the same has to be enjoined in a separate *sūtra* to those which are dual and which have them as its part (*avayava*) as in the words *pacētē* and *pacēthē*.

Note : Since *itē* and *ithē* alone are dual and not *tē* and *thē,* there is room for the above objection.

वचनाद्भविष्यति ।

The *saṁjñā* shall operate on account of its being a part of *vacana*.

Note : *Vacana* is taken to mean *vacanāikadēśa* by *lakṣaṇā*.

अस्ति वचने प्रयोजनम् ।

There is use for the mention of *vacana*.

किम् ? What ?

खट्वे इति, माले इति ।

The words *khaṭvē* and *mālē* get the *saṁjñā*.

अस्तु तर्हि ईदाद्यन्तं यद् द्विवचनम् इति ।

If so, let it be *īdādyantam yad dvivacanam*.

ईदाद्यन्तमिति चेदेकस्य विधिः

If it is interpreted as *īdādyantam yad dvivacanam,* injunction is necessary where the dual is of one letter.

ईदाद्यन्तं द्विवचनम् इति चेदेकस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा विधेया खट्वे इति माले इति ।

If it is interpreted as *īdādyantam yad dvivacanam, pragṛhyasaṁjñā* has to be enjoined when the *dvivacana* consists of one letter as in the words *khaṭvē* and *mālē*.

न वाद्यन्तवत्त्वात्

Not necessary, since the same may be taken as the *ādi* and the same as the *anta*.

न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम्? आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् कार्यं भवति इत्येव-मेकस्यापि भविष्यति ।

This defect cannot stand. Why? Since action is taken on one considering it both as *ādi* and *anta*, the *saṁjñā* reaches one letter also.

अथवा एवं वक्ष्यामि ईदाद्यन्तं यद् द्विवचनान्तम् इति ।

Or shall I interpret it thus: *īdādyantam yad dvivacanāntam*.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* says thus: *dvivacana* is taken in the sense of *dvivacanāntam* by the *paribhāṣā Pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa vihitaḥ tadādēḥ tadantasya grahaṇam* and since it is taken as the *viśēṣya* of *īdūdēd*, the latter is taken to mean *īdūdēdanta* by the *sūtra Yēna vidhis tadantasya*.

ईदाद्यन्तं द्विवचनान्तमिति चेल्लुकि प्रतिषेधः

If it is interpreted as *īdādyantam dvivacanāntam*, prohibition where *luk* is found is necessary.

ईदाद्यन्तं द्विवचनान्तम् इति चेल्लुकि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । कुमार्योः अगारं कुमार्यगारं, वध्वोः अगारं वध्वगारम् । एतद्धि ईदाद्यन्तं च श्रूयते द्विवचनान्तं च भवति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन ।

If it is interpreted *īdādyantam dvivacanāntam*, prohibition is to be mentioned where there is *luk*. For instance when the pairs *kumāryōḥ agāram* and *vadhvōḥ agāram* are compounded,

they become *kumāryagāram* and *vadhvagāram*. Since the former members of compounds respectively end in *ī* and *ū* and are also considered *dvivacananta* though the *pratyaya* denoting it has *luk* by the *sūtra Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam* (1, 1, 62), *ī* and *ū* may be considered *pragṛhya* and consequently there will be no *sandhi* between *kumārī* and *agāram* and *vadhū* and *agāram*.

सप्तम्यामर्थग्रहणं ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधस्य

Mention of the word *artha* in *saptamyarthē* suggests the prohibition of *pratyayalakṣaṇa*.

यदयम् ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे इति अर्थग्रहणं करोति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो न प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां प्रत्ययलक्षणं भवति इति ।

Since *Ācārya Pāṇini* mentions the word *artha* in the *sūtra Īdūtāu ca saptamyarthē* (1, 1, 19), he makes us infer that the *sūtra Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam* does not operate with reference to *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*.

तत्तर्हि ज्ञापकार्थमर्थग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ।

If so, the word *artha* in that *sūtra* must needs be mentioned for the sake of *jñāpaka*.

Note : The necessity for the above sentence is this: *Mahābhāṣyakāra* concludes the discussion under the *sūtra Īdūtāu ca saptamyarthē* by saying that the word *artha* there is unnecessary. *Vārttikakāra*, on the other hand, takes the *sūtra* mentioned by *Ācārya Pāṇini* as it is and tells us that the word *artha* there, is a *jñāpaka* for not adopting *pratyayalakṣaṇa* with reference to *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*.

न कर्तव्यम् । ईदादिभिर्द्विवचनं विशेषयिष्यामः, ईदादिविशिष्टेन च द्विवचनेन तदन्तविधिर्भविष्यति, ईदाद्यन्तं यद् द्विवचनं तदन्तम् ईदाद्यन्तम् इति ।

(The word *artha*) need not be mentioned. We first take *īdādi* to be the *viśēṣaṇa* to *dvivacana* and then *tadantavidhi* is applied to *dvivacana* qualified by *īdādi* so that *īdūdēd dvivacanam* may be interpreted *īdādyantam yad dvivacanam, tadantam*.

Note : *Kāiyaṭa* says that *īdādyantam* means *īdādyantāntam* since *īdādi* should mean *īdādyanta*.

एवमपि अशुक्ले वस्त्रे शुक्ले समपद्येतां शुक्ल्यास्ताम्[1] वस्त्रे इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अत्र हि ईदादि च द्विवचनं, तदन्तं च भवति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन ।

Even then, when the word *śuklī* which means the two cloths which were not white, but which were subsequently made white combines with the verb *āstām*, there is chance for *prakṛtibhāva*, since *śuklī* here may get *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*; for *īdādi* qualifies *dvivacana* through *tadantavidhi* and the *īdādidvivacana* is taken in the sense of *īdādidvivacanānta* by the *sūtra Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*.

अत्राप्यकृते शीभावे लुग्भविष्यति ।

Even here before *ī* is made to replace *āu* by the *sūtra Napuṁsakācca* (7, 1, 19), *sup* is dropped by the *sūtra Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ* (2, 4, 71.)

इदमिह संप्रधार्यं लुक् क्रियतां शीभाव इति ।

This is here to be decided whether *luk* is to be given precedence or *śībhāva*.

किमत्र कर्तव्यम् ?

What may be done here ?

1. शुक्लशब्दात् द्विवचनम् औ, तस्य नपुंसकाच्च इति शीभावः, ततः च्विप्रत्ययः ; शी शब्दस्य सुप इति लुक्, अस्य च्वौ इति ईत्वम् ; ताद्धितान्तत्वात् सुप्, तस्य अव्ययात् इति लुक् (प्रदीपे)

परत्वाच्छीभावः ।

Śībhāva must be given precedence, since the *sūtra* enjoining it is read after the *sūtra* enjoining *luk*.

नित्यो लुक्; कृतेऽपि शीभावे प्राप्नोति, अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति ।

Luk is *nitya*, since it operates whether *śībhāva* operates before it or after it.

Note : The *paribhāṣā Paranityāntaraṅgāpavādānām uttarōttaram balīyaḥ* is to be taken into account here.

अनित्यो लुक्; अन्यस्य कृते शीभावे प्राप्नोति, अन्यस्य अकृते; शब्दान्तरस्य च प्राप्नुवन्विधिरनित्यो भवति ।

Luk is not *nitya*, since in one case it operates when *śībhāva* has come and in another case where there is no *śībhāva* and since it is admitted that an injunction which operates both in the presence and in the absence of something else is considered *anitya* with reference to it.

शीभावोऽपि अनित्यः, न हि कृते लुकि प्राप्नोति ।

Śībhāva, too, is not *nitya*, since it has no room after *luk* makes its appearance.

उभयोरनित्ययोः परत्वाच्छीभावः ।

When two rules which are *anitya* have to operate, the rule regarding *śībhāva* operates first since it is *para*.

शीभावे कृते लुक् ।

After *śībhāva* is accomplished, there is *luk*.

अथापि कथंचिन्नित्यो लुक् स्याद् एवमपि दोषः । वक्ष्यत्येतत् 'पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थम्' इति । इदं चापि प्रत्ययग्रहणम्; अयं चापि संज्ञाविधिः । अवश्यं खल्वस्मिन्नपि पक्षे आद्यन्तवद्भाव एषितव्यः ।

Even if with great difficulty we prove that *luk* is *nitya*, there is this defect :—*Vārttikakāra* is going to say (under the *sūtra Suptiṅantam padam*) that the word *anta* here suggests that there is no *tadantavidhi* in *pratyayagrahaṇa* except in *saṁjñā-vidhi*. Here is *pratyayagrahaṇa* and here is *saṁjñāvidhi* too. Even here the *ādyantavadbhāva* has to be resorted to.

तस्मादस्तु स एव मध्यमः पक्षः ।

Hence let the middle alternative (i. e.) the second be resorted to.

Note: There are four alternatives in the second topic of this *sūtra*, of which the first three belong to the *Vārttikakāra* and the last to the *Mahābhāṣyakāra*. The last has sprung on the assumption of the latter that the mention of the word *artha* is not necessary in the *sūtra Īd-ūdāu ca saptamyarthē*. From the procedure of the *vārttikas* it seems that the *Vārttikakāra* prefers the third alternative. But *Mahābhāṣyakāra* has definitely stated that the middle alternative should be preferred. The middle is interpreted by *Kāiyaṭa* to refer to the second. Since both the second and the third deserve to be called *madhyama*, Nāgēśa-bhaṭṭa says that the third and the fourth may be taken as one since there is *tadantavidhi* in the *pratyayāṁśa* in both. But, since the *Vārttikakāra* has stated only three alternatives and the fourth is only an offshoot on the third based on the assumption of the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* that the mention of *artha* in the *sūtra Īdūdāu ca saptamyarthē* is not necessary, the second alone deserves to be called the *madhyama*.

अदसो मात् (1, 1, 12)

मात्प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां तस्यासिद्धत्वादयावेकादेशप्रतिषेधः

If the designation *pragṛhya* is enjoined to *ī* and *ū* after *m* in *adas*, prohibition of the *ādēśas ay*, *āv* and *ēkādēśa* is needed since *ī* and *ū* are *asiddha*.

मात् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां तस्य — ईत्वस्य ऊत्वस्य च — असिद्धत्वात् अयावेकादेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति, तेषां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः — अमी [1] अत्र, अमी आसते, अमू [2] अत्र, अमू आसाते ।

If the designation *pragṛhya* is enjoined to *ī* and *ū* after *m* in *adas*, *pratiṣēdha* of *ayādēśa, āvādēśa* and *ēkādēśa* has to be enjoined since *ī, ū* and *m* are asiddha in the following :— *amī + atra ; amī + āsatē ; amū + atra ; amū + āsātē.*

Note 1 : Since the *sūtras Ēta īd bahuvacanē* (8, 2, 81) and *Adasōssērdādudō maḥ* (8, 2, 80) are in *asiddhakāṇḍa*, their *kārya* in the words *amī* and *amū* is *asiddha* (i.e.) *m, ī* and *ū* are *asiddha* when they combine with other words where the *sūtras* found in the *siddhakāṇḍa* have to operate. Hence when they begin to operate, the forms here should be considered to be *adē + atra, adē + āsatē, adāu + atra* and *adāu + āsātē.* In the first *Ēṅaḥ padāntād ati* will operate and bring about *ēkādēśa ;* in the second *Ēcōyavāyāvaḥ* will operate and bring about *ayādēśa*, in place of *ē*; and in the third and the fourth the same *sūtra* will bring about *āvādēśa* in place of *āu.* These have to be avoided.

Note 2 : Since *ītva* and *ūtva* are within the word *adas* and *ayādēśa, āvādēśa* and *ēkādēśa* depend upon two words, the former is *antaraṅga* and the latter is *bahiraṅga.* On the strength of the *paribhāṣā Asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅgē, ayādēśa* etc. are *asiddha* before *ītva, ūtva* etc. and hence the *sūtra Pūrvatrāsiddham* does not operate here. This is

1. अदस् + जस्; अदस् + शी by the *sūtra* जसः शी (7, 1, 17); अद + ई by त्यदादीनामः (7, 2, 102); अदे by आद्गुणः (6, 1, 87); अदी by एत ईद्बहुवचने (8, 2, 81), अमी by अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः (8, 2, 80)

2. अदस्+औ; अद+औ by त्यदादीनामः (7. 2, 102); अदौ by वृद्धिरेचि (6, 1, 88); अमू by अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः (8, 2, 80)

true; but the *paribhāṣā Asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅgē* is nullified by *nājānantaryē*. Nāgēśa-bhaṭṭa says that the same object is achieved by the statement in the *bhāṣya* under *Kharavasānayōr visarjanīyaḥ* (8, 3, 15) that *bahiraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not operate when the *antaraṅgaśāstra* is in *Tripādī*.

ननु च प्रगृह्यसंज्ञावचनसामर्थ्यादयादयो न भविष्यन्ति ?

Can it not be said that the mention of *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* prevents *ayādēśa* etc. ?

वचनार्थो हि सिद्धे

For the mention (of *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*) is made use of in places which are not *asiddha*.

नेदं वचनाल्लभ्यम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् ? यत् सिद्धे प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाकार्यं[1] तदर्थमेतत् स्यात् – अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इति ।

This cannot be achieved by the mention (of *pragṛhya-saṁjñā*.) For there is another *prayojana* for the same. What is it ? It is intended where the *sūtra Aṇōspragṛhyasyā-nunāsikaḥ*, (8, 4, 57) operates, since *ītva* and *ūtva* are *siddha* before it.

नैकं प्रयोजनं योगारम्भं प्रयोजयति । यद्येतावत् प्रयोजनं स्यात् तत्रैवायं ब्रूयात्, अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः, अदसो न इति ।

A *sūtra* is not read with reference to only one *prayōjana*. Had the *Sūtrakāra* meant that this *sūtra* operates only with reference to the *sūtra Aṇōspragṛhyasyānunāsikaḥ*, he would have read this *sūtra* after it thus '*Adasō na*.'

विप्रतिषेधाद्वा

Or by conflict.

1. प्रगृह्यकार्यम् is another reading.

अथवा प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा क्रियताम् अयादयो वा इति, प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा भविष्यति प्रतिषेधेन इति[1]।

Or there is conflict between *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* and *ayādēśa* etc.; let the former operate.

नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः; विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्युच्यते, पूर्वा च प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा, परे अयादयः।

This solution based on *vipratiṣēdha* is not appropriate; for, it is said that, if there is conflict between two rules, the following rule predominates and here the rule enjoining the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* precedes those enjoining *ayādēśa* and *ēkādēśa*.

परा प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा करिष्यते।

The rule enjoining the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* is taken later.

सूत्रविपर्यासः कृतो भवति।

The order of *sūtras* is then changed.

एवं तर्हि परैव प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा

If so, the *sūtra* enjoining *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* operates later.

कथम्? How?

कार्यकालं हि संज्ञापरिभाषम्; यत्र कार्यं तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम्। प्रगृह्यः प्रकृत्या इति: उपस्थितमिदं भवति अदसो मात् इति।

Let us take recourse to the *paribhāṣā Kāryakālam saṁjñāparibhāṣam*. When the *sūtra Plutapragṛhyā aci nityam* begins to operate, the *sūtra Adasō māt* makes its appearance on the scene.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

Even then the *vipratiṣēdha* is not appropriate.

1. इति is not found in some editions.

कथम्? How ?

द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः। न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः। एचामयादयः, ईदूतोः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा।

For there is *vipratiṣēdha* only when two rules operate on the same target. Here there is not one and the same thing which is operated upon by two rules. *Ayādēśa* etc. are enjoined to *ēc* and *pragṛhyasaṁjñākārya* to *īt* and *ūt*.

Note: *Pragṛhyasaṁjñā* here refers, by *lakṣaṇā*, to its *kārya*.

नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः।

Vipratiṣēdha need not operate only when two conflicting rules have the same target.

किं तर्हि?

What then should they have ?

असम्भवोऽपि

Neutralizing effect too.

स चास्त्यत्रासम्भवः

That neutralizing effect, then, exists here.

कोऽसावत्रासम्भवः?

What is the neutralizing effect here ?

प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा अभिनिर्वर्तमाना अयादीन् बाधते, अयादयः अभिनिर्वर्तमानाः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाया निमित्तं विघ्नन्तीत्येषोऽसम्भवः। सत्यसम्भवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः।

Accomplishment of *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* prevents the formation of *ayādēśa* etc. and *ayādēśa* etc, being accomplished, kill the *nimitta* of *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*. This is *asambhava*. When there is *asambhava*, it is but proper to have *vipratiṣēdha*.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । सतोर्हि विप्रतिषेधो भवति । न चात्रेत्त्वोत्त्वे स्तः, नापि मकारः ; उभयमप्यसिद्धम् ।

Even then it is not proper to resort to *vipratiṣēdha;* for *vipratiṣēdha* operates only when two conflicting forces exist. Here neither *ītva* nor *ūtva* exists ; nor *makāra* ; both are *asiddha*.

आश्रयात्सिद्धत्वं च यथा रोरुत्वे

Siddhatva is admitted as of *ru* when it is to be replaced by *u,* since it is the *āśraya* or *ādhāra.*

आश्रयात्सिद्धत्वं भविष्यति । तद्यथा रुरुत्वे आश्रयात् सिद्धो भवति ।

Siddhatva of (*īt, ūt*) is admitted since they stand as the *āśraya* of *pragṛhyasaṁjñā.* For example the *rutva* by the *sūtra Sasajuṣō ruḥ* (8, 2, 66) is considered *siddha,* since it becomes the *āśraya* of *utva* enjoined by the *sūtra Atō rōraplutād aplutē* (6, 1, 113) (i. e) even though the latter *sūtra* is in *Sapādasaptādhyāyī* and the former is in *Tripādī* and consequently the *kārya* of the former should be considered non-existent when the latter operates, still it is not considered so on account of the *kārya* of the former being the *āśraya* of the *kārya* of the latter.

किं पुनः कारणं रुः उत्वे आश्रयात् सिद्धो भवति, न पुनर्यत्रैव रुः सिद्धः, तत्रैवोत्वमप्युच्यते ?

Why is it that *ru* is considered *siddha* when *utva* has to be achieved as its *āśraya* and not that, whenever *ru* is *siddha, utva* goes there ?

नैवं शक्यम् ।

It is not possible to consider so.

असिद्धे ह्युत्वे आद्गुणाप्रसिद्धिः

If *utva* is *asiddha*, the *sūtra Ād guṇaḥ* cannot operate.

असिद्धे ह्युत्वे आद्गुणस्याप्रसिद्धिः स्यात् – वृक्षोऽत्र, प्लक्षोऽत्र ।

Utva being *asiddha*, non-operation of the *sūtra* *Ād guṇaḥ* will set in, so that the forms *vṛkṣōstra* and *plakṣōstra* cannot be explained.

तस्मात् तत्र आश्रयात् सिद्धत्वमेषितव्यम् । तत्र यथाश्रयात् सिद्धत्वं भवति, एवमिहाप्याश्रयात् सिद्धत्वं भविष्यति ।

Therefore, it is necessary to admit there *siddhatva* on account of its bing *āśraya*. As is done there, so also *siddhatva* may be admitted here also on the basis of its being *āśraya*.

वचनसामर्थ्याद्वा

Or on the strength of this *sūtra*.

अथवा प्रगृह्यसंज्ञावचनसामर्थ्यादयादयो न भविष्यन्ति ।

Or on the strength of the mention of this *sūtra* enjoining *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*, *ayādēśa* and others have no room to make their appearance.

Note 1 : Guruprasādaśāstri thinks there would have been two *vārttikas* *Vacanasāmarthyād vā* and *Yōgavibhāgād vā* one above and one below and would have been omitted by the scribe on the strength of Nāgēśa's statements. They are not found in some editions.

Note 2 : The opinion here is based on *yathōddēśapakṣa*.

योगविभागाद्वा

Or by splitting the *sūtra* into two.

अथवा योगविभागः करिष्यते । अदसः – अदसः ईदादयः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा भवन्ति । ततो मात् – माच्च परे ईदादयः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा भवन्ति इति, अदस इत्येव ।

Or the *sūtra* is split into two: *Adasaḥ* and *Māt*, where *Adasaḥ* means that the *īt*, *ūt* etc. of *adas* get the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* and *Māt* means that the *īt*, *ūt* etc. after *m* in *adas* get the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*.

किमर्थो योगविभागः ?

What for is the *sūtra-split ?*

एको यत्तत्सिद्धे प्रगृह्यकार्यं तदर्थः, अपरो यदसिद्धे ।

One is intended for *pragṛhyakārya* to the *siddha* and the other to the *asiddha*.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति — अमुया [1] अमुयोः [2] इति ।

It will then reach even here—*amuyā, amuyōḥ.*

किं च स्याद्यदि प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा स्यात् ?

What will happen if they get *pragṛhyasaṁjñā ?*

प्रगृह्याश्रयः प्रकृतिभावः प्रसज्येत ।

No-change-sandhi based upon *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* will have a chance to set in there.

नैष दोषः ; पदान्तप्रकरणे प्रकृतिभावः, न चैष पदान्तः ।

This defect cannot arise, since the *prakṛtibhāva* here is concerned with *padānta* and it is not *.padānta* (in *amuyā* and *amuyōḥ*.)

एवमपि 'अमुकेऽत्र' अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

Even then *prakṛtibhāva* will set in here too—*amukēstra* (i. e.) the *sūtra Ēṅaḥ padāntād ati* will not operate.

द्विवचनमिति वर्तते ।

The word *dvivacanam* is there (i. e.) the word *dvivacanam* which is found in the previous *sūtra* is taken here along with *īdūdēt*.

1. अदस् + आ ; अद + आ by त्यदादीनामः ; अद + आ + आ by अजाद्यतष्टाप् ; अदे + आ by आङि चापः ; अदय् + आ by एचोयवायावः ; अमुय् + आ by अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः (8, 2, 80) ; अमुया.
2. The formation of अमुयोः is similar to that of अमुया.

यदि द्विवचनम् इति वर्तते, अमी अत्र, अत्र न प्राप्नोति ।

If the word *dvivacanam* is taken here, *prakṛtibhāva* will not make its appearance in *amī atra* (since *amī* is not dual in number).

एवं तर्हि एदन्तम् इति निवृत्तम् ।

If so, the word *ēdantam* is not taken here from the previous *sūtra*. (Hence there will be no *prakṛtibhāva* in *amukēstra*).

Note 1: *Adhikāra*, on the strength of the *sūtra Svaritēna adhikāraḥ* is of two kinds:—*arthādhikāraḥ* and *śabdādhikāraḥ*. The former is taking over the words (suggested by *svarita*) in the subsequent *sūtras* from the previous ones in the sense in which they are used there. The latter is taking over the words from the previous *sūtras* and giving them meaning suited to the place. For instance if *īdūdēd* is taken here in the sense *īdūdēdantam*, it is *arthādhikāraḥ ;* if it is taken here and is not given that meaning, it is *śabdādhikāraḥ*.

Note 2: The defect here is that, in the previous *sūtra*, *Īdūd* alone has to be read with *svarita*.

मार्थादीदाद्यर्थानां वा

Or of *īdādyarthas* after *mārtha*.

अथवा आह अयम् अदसो मात् इति । न च ईत्वोत्वे स्तः, नापि मकारः ; त एवं विज्ञास्यामः, मार्थात् ईदाद्यर्थानाम् ।

Or (i. e. if *yōgavibhāga* is not admitted,) we interpret the *sūtra Adasō māt*, which the *Sūtrakāra* has said, to refer to *īdādyartha* after *mārtha* (i. e.) *īdādi* and *ma* are taken, by *lakṣaṇā* to mean *īdādyartha* and *mārtha* to avoid *asiddhatva*.

Note: There is not sufficient testimony to suggest that *lakṣyārtha* should be taken into account here.

उक्तम् वा

It has been said

किमुक्तम् ?

What has been said ?

अदस ईत्वोत्वे स्वरे बहिष्पदलक्षणे सिद्धे वक्तव्ये, प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां च इति ।

The *īt* and *ūt* of *adas* should be considered as *siddha* with reference to accent in external *sandhi* and with reference to *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*.

Note: Under the *sūtra Svaritō vānudāttē padādāu* (8, 2, 6), the two *vārttikas Adasa ītvōtvē svarē bahiṣpadalakṣaṇē* and *Pragṛhyasaṁjñāyām ca* are found. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* seems to refer to it. In that case the expression *uktam vā* may better be taken to be the words of *Mahābhāṣyakāra*. But all editions take it to be a *vārttika*. If so, *vakṣyati vā* may be appropriate. It also deserves to be investigated whether *vacanasāmarthyād vā, yōgavibhāgād vā, mārthādīdādyarthānām vā* might not be the *vārttikas* of the *Vārttikakāra* and that he finished the topic with the *vārttika Asiddhē hyutvē ādguṇāprasiddhiḥ*. If so, one may question how to explain the existence of the *vārttikas Tatra saki dōṣaḥ* and *Na vā grahaṇaviśēṣaṇatvāt*. They too may be the words of the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* like *Atha śabdānuśāsanam*.

तत्र सकि दोषः

In that case there will be difficulty when it is with *kakāra*.

तत्र सककारे दोषो भवति, अमुकेऽत्र ।

In that case there will be difficulty if it is with *kakāra* as in *amukēstra*.

Note : This arises by taking *īdādi* in the sense *īdādyantam.*

न वा ग्रहणविशेषणत्वात्

No, on account of its being *viśēṣaṇa* to what is mentioned.

न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम्? ग्रहणविशेषणत्वात्; न माङ्ग्रहणेन ईदाद्यन्तं विशेष्यते । किं तर्हि? ईदादयो विशेष्यन्ते — मात्परे ये ईदादयः इति ।

No, this difficulty does not arise. Why? Since it qualifies what is mentioned. The word *māt* in the *sūtra* does not qualify *īdādyantam* (which we get by *arthādhikāra* from the previous *sūtra*). What then? *Īt* and *ūt* (which we get by *śabdādhikāra*) are qualified thus :–the *īt, ūt* etc. which follow *m.*

Note : The final answer of the *Vārttikakāra* to the *ākṣēpa* '*māt pragṛhyasaṁjñāyām tasyāsiddhatvāt ayāvēkādēśapratiṣēdhaḥ*' seems to be '*āśrayāt siddhatvam ca yathā rōrutvē*' and that of the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* the two *vārttikas* mentioned under the *sūtra Svaritō vānudāttē padādāu* (8, 3, 6).

शे (1, 1, 13)

इह कस्मान्न भवति, काशे कुशे वंशे इति?

Why does not *śē* in *kāśē, kuśē* and *vaṁśē* get the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*?

शेऽर्थवद्ग्रहणात्

On account of taking *śē* which has a meaning.

अर्थवतः शेशब्दस्य ग्रहणम्; न चैषोऽर्थवान् ।

Account is taken of the *pratyaya śē* with meaning; the *śē* in *kāśē* etc. has no meaning.

एवमपि हरिशे बभ्रुशे इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

Even granting it, it may happen in *hariśē, babhruśē.*

Note: The words *hari, babhru* etc. take the *taddhitapratyaya śa* by the *sūtra Lōmādipāmādipicchādibhyaḥ śanelacaḥ* (5, 2, 100) and they then take the seventh case singular suffix *i* so that they become *hariśē, babhruśē* etc. Here *śa* has one meaning and *i* another meaning.

एवं तर्हि लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव इत्येवं न भविष्यति ।

If so, the *sūtra* operates on the word mentioned and not on the word inferred through *lakṣaṇā* and hence the *pragṛhya-saṁjñā* does not apply to *śē* in *hariśē* etc.

अथवा पुनरस्तु अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य इति ।

Or let the *paribhāṣā Arthavadgrahaṇē na anarthakasya* operate.

कथं तर्हि हरिशे बभ्रुशे इति ?

How to avoid the operation of this *sūtra* in *hariśē, babhruśē* etc. ?

एकोऽत्र विभक्त्यर्थेनार्थवान्, अपरस्तद्धितार्थेन, समुदायोऽनर्थकः ।

A part of it (the latter part) has the case-suffix meaning and another part (the former) has the *taddhita* suffix meaning, so that the whole *śē* cannot be said to have any meaning.

Note: From the above it is clear that, if two *paribhāṣās Arthavadgrahaṇē nānarthakasya* and *Lakṣaṇaprati-padōktayōḥ pratipadōktasyāiva* have room to operate at the same place, the former has greater claim.[1]

निपात एकाजनाङ् (1, 1, 14)

There are *four* topics dealt with here: (1) the need of the word *nipāta* in the *sūtra*, (2) the meaning of the word

1. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa says here प्रत्यक्षानुमानिकन्यायापेक्षया रूपग्रहणानुगतार्थवत्परिभाषा प्रबला ।

ēkāc, (3) the need of *ēka* in *ēkāc* and (4) the need of the word *anāṅ* in the *sūtra*.

I

निपात इति किमर्थम्?

What is the need for the word *nipāta* ?

Note : According to *Kāiyaṭa* this question arises thus : The word *nipāta* here should eliminate *pratyaya* ; but since one-vowelled *nipāta* alone has meaning, since *pratyaya* cannot be used independently, since it has no meaning, since it has its existence only through the creation of grammarians and since they are not unanimous in its form, *pratyaya* will have no room here and hence there is no need for elimination.

Nāgēśabhaṭṭa, on the other hand, states that it is clear from the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra* *Ōt* that *nipāta* here refers to even those which have no meaning and hence the question arises since *anāṅ* may suggest *nipāta*. The answer is that it is not sufficient and the mention of *nipāta* enables this *sūtra* to operate even when there is *anuvāda* of *pratyayas*.

चकारात्र, जहारात्र ।

If the word *nipāta* is not mentioned in the *sūtra*, *pratyaya* also will come within the range of the *sūtra* and consequently the *a* at the end of *cakāra* and *jahāra* which is one-vowelled and which is not *āṅ* will get the designation of *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* and consequently there will be no *dīrgha-sandhi* between *cakāra* and *atra* and between *jahāra* and *atra*.

II

एकाजिति किमर्थम्?

What for is the word *ēkāc ?*

प्रेदं ब्रह्म, प्रेदं क्षत्रम् ।

So that *pra* in *pra idam brahma* and *pra idam kṣatram* may not take *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*

एकाजित्यप्युच्यमानेऽत्रापि प्राप्नोति । एषोऽपि हि एकाच् ।

Even at the mention of *ēkāc*, it (*pragṛhyasaṁjñā*) makes its appearance even here ; for this too is *ēkāc*.

Note : The answer was given taking *ēkāc* as a *karmadhāraya* compound and the objection is raised taking it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

एकाजिति नायं बहुव्रीहिः, एकोऽज् यस्मिन् सोऽयमेकाज् एकाजिति ।

This word *ēkāc* is not *bahuvrīhi* so that it may be expanded as *ēkaḥ ac yasmin saḥ*.

किं तर्हि ?

What then ?

तत्पुरुषोऽयं समानाधिकरणः, एकः अच् एकाच् एकाजिति ।

It is the *tatpuruṣa* where both the members stand in apposition and it is expanded as *ēkaḥ ac*.

III

यदि तत्पुरुषोऽयं समानाधिकरणः, नार्थ एकग्रहणेन ।

If it is a *samānādhikaraṇa-tatpuruṣa*, there is no need for *ēka* in *ēkāc*.

इह कस्मान्न भवति, प्रेदं ब्रह्म प्रेदं क्षत्रम् ?

How will not then this *sūtra* operate in the *sandhi* between *pra* and *idam* in *prēdam brahma* and *prēdam kṣatram ?*

Note : If the word *ac* alone is read in the *sūtra,* it may be taken in the sense *ajanta* so that *pra* becomes *ajanta* and hence has a chance to get the designation *pragṛhya* and consequently there will be no *guṇasandhi* between *pra* and *idam*.

अजेव यो निपात इत्येवं विज्ञायते ।

It is interpreted thus :—the *nipāta* which consists of a vowel alone.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is this to be said ?

न हि ।

Not necessary.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How will it be so understood unless it is explained in that manner ?

अज्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् । यदि हि अच्च अन्यच्च तत्र स्यात् अज्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

On account of the capacity of the word *ac*. If a vowel and one other than a vowel happen to be there, the mention of the word *ac* will become useless.

अस्ति हि अन्यद् अज्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् ।

(No); for there is another *prayōjana* for the mention of *ac*.

किम् ? What ?

अजन्तस्य यथा स्यात्, हलन्तस्य मा भूत् ।

So that the designation may reach that which ends in a vowel and not that which ends in a consonant.

नैव दोषो न प्रयोजनम् ।

There is neither merit nor demerit (in it).

Note : Hence *ac* is not taken in the sense of *ajanta*.

एवमपि कुत एतत्, द्वयोः परिभाषयोः सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोः 'आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्' इति 'येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य' इति च, इयमिह परिभाषा

भविष्यति 'आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्' इति, इयं च न भविष्यति 'येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य' इति ।

Even then, how is it that, of the two *paribhāṣās* *Ādyantavad ēkasmin*, *Yēna vidhis tadantasya* which have application elsewhere, it is taken that *Ādyantavad ēkasmin* is to be applied here and not *Yēna vidhis tadantasya ?*

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, इयमिह परिभाषा भवति आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्, इयं च न भवति येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य इति यदयम् अनाङ् इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that the *paribhāṣā* *Ādyantavad ēkasmin* applies here and not the *paribhāṣā Yēna vidhis tadantasya*, since he prohibits *āṅ* by the expression *anāṅ*.

Note 1: Though *Yēna vidhis tadantasya* is a *saṁjñāsūtra* and *Ādyantavad ēkasmin* is an *atidēśasūtra*, still both are called *paribhāṣās*. The reason for it, *Kāiyaṭa* says, is that all the three have the common characteristic of *pārārthya* (the quality of being for others).

Note 2: If *nīpāta* is *viśēṣaṇa* and *ac* is *viśēṣya*, there is no room for *Yēna vidhis tadantasya* to operate; if *ac* is *viśēṣaṇa* and *nipāta* is *viśēṣya*, there is no room for *Ādyantavad ēkasmin* to operate. Since *anāṅ* suggests that the *sūtra* should be taken in the sense *āṅ-bhinna-nipāta-bhūta-ac pragṛhyasaṁjñō bhavati*, *Ādyantavad ēkasmin* operates.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद् अज्ग्रहणे क्रियमाणे एकग्रहणं करोति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः 'अन्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणं भवति' इति ।

Therefore since *Ācārya Pāṇini* reads *ēka* though the desired object is achieved without it, he makes us infer that *genus* is referred to except with reference to letters.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use of this *jñāpana* ?

'दम्भेर्हल्ग्रहणस्य जातिवाचकत्वात् सिद्धम्' इति यदुक्तं, तदुपपन्नं भवति ।[1]

The statement *Dambhēr halgrahaṇasya jātivācakatvāt siddham* under the *sūtra Halantācca* (1, 2, 10) is justified.

अनाङिति किमर्थम्?

What is the purpose gained by the mention of the word *anāṅ*?

आ उदकान्तात् — ओदकान्तात्

So that *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* may not come to the *nipāta ā* which is not a *ṅit* as *ā* in *ā udakāntāt* which becomes, in *sandhi*, *ōdakāntāt*.

इह कस्मान्न भवति — 'आ एवं नु मन्यसे,' 'आ एवं किल तत्' इति?

Why does not *vṛddhisandhi* take place between *ā* and *ēvam* in the sentences *ā ēvam nu manyasē* and *ā ēvam kila tat?*

सानुबन्धकस्येदमाकारस्य ग्रहणम् । अननुबन्धकश्चात्राकारः ।

Here the *ā* with the *anubandha* (*ṅ*) is mentioned. Here in *ā udakāntāt*, *ā* without the *anubandha* is mentioned.

क्व पुनरयं सानुबन्धकः, क्व निरनुबन्धकः?

1. The root *dambh* takes *san* after it by the *sūtra Dhātōḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyām vā* (3, 1, 7); *san* is optionally preceded by *i* by the *sūtra Sanīvantardhabhrasja dambhuśrisvṛyūrṇubharañapisanām* (7, 2, 49). When it does not take *iḍāgama*, the *abhyāsa* is dropped by the *sūtra Atra lōpō abhyāsasya* (7, 4, 58). Then we have *dambh* + *sa* + *ti*; now *i* or *ī* follows *d* by the *sūtra Dambha icca* (7, 4, 56). Thus we have *dimbh* + *sa* + *ti*. Here *m* has to be dropped by the *sūtra Aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti* (6, 4, 24); for this the *san* has to be declared *kit*; it has to be declared so by the *sūtra Halantācca* (1, 2, 10) which means that the *san* which is *jhalādi* and which follows the consonant near *ik* is *kit*. In *dimbh sati*, *m* is near *i* and *san* is preceded by *bh* which is not near *i*. Hence *hal* in this *sūtra* refers to all consonants following *i* (i.e.) to *haljāti*.

Where is it with *anubandha* and where is it without *anubandha* ?

ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाभिविधौ च यः ।
एतमातं ङितं विद्याद् वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥

One should understand that it is *ṅit* if it is used in the sense of *lightly*, along with a verb and in the senses of *inner limit* and *outer limit* and it is not *ṅit* if it is used to suggest a contrary meaning to a sentence or to bring to memory the idea contained in the sentence.

ओत् (1, 1, 15)

किमुदाहरणम् ?

What is the example ?

आहो इति उताहो इति ।

The words *āhō* and *utāhō*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्; निपातसमाहारोऽयम् — आह उ आहो इति, उत आह उ उताहो इति । तत्र निपात एकाजनाङ् इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

This (*pragṛhyasaṁjñā* of *āhō* and *utāhō*) need not be the *prayōjana* (of this *sūtra*); for this *āhō* or *utāhō* is only a conglomeration of the *nipātas* *āha* and *u* or *uta*, *āha* and *u* and (since the *nipāta* at the end is *u* which is an *ēkāc*), either of them gets the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* by the (previous) *sūtra* *Nipāta ēkājanāṅ*.

एवं तर्हि एकनिपाता इमे
ओ षु यातं मरुतः
ओ षु यातं बृहती शक्वरी च
ओ चित्सखायं सख्या ववृत्याम् (R. V. 10, 11, 1)

If so, these are single *nipātas*. They are so taken in the *padapāṭhas* of Vedic *Saṁhitās* as is seen in

Ō ṣu yātam marutaḥ

Ō ṣu yātam bṛhatī śakvarī ca

Ō cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām (R. V. 10, 11, 1)

अथवा प्रतिषिद्धार्थोऽयमारम्भः ।

Or this *sūtra* is intended to sanction what has not been sanctioned (in the previous *sūtra*).

Note 1: This line is read before *ō ṣu yātam marutaḥ* in all editions. The order is slightly changed here for two reasons: (1) The three quotations from the Vedas are to serve as examples to the statement *ēvam tarhi ēkanipātā imē*. (2) The *vārttika Ōtaś cvipratiṣēdaḥ* naturally follows *athavā pratiṣiddhārthōyam ārambhaḥ*.

Note 2: Kāiyaṭa, Haradatta, Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣita and Nāgēśabhaṭṭa have taken that the *pratiṣiddha* here refers to *anāṅ* of the previous *sūtra*. But they differ in their views in that reference. Kāiyaṭa and Haradatta state that *anāṅ* should be taken as *paryudāsa* and not *prasajyapratiṣēdha*. Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣita, in his *Kāustubha* and Nāgēśabhaṭṭa think that it is defective whether it is taken as *prasajyapratiṣēdha* or *paryudāsa*. Hence Dīkṣita says '*Bhāṣyēspi pratiṣiddhārtham ētad ityuktiḥ abhyuccayamātram*'. It seems to me that *pratiṣiddha* may be taken to refer to something else other than *anāṅ*. In the previous *sūtra*, there is no *tadantagrahaṇa* for *ēkāc* since it is taken as the *viśēṣya* and *nipāta* as *viśēṣaṇa* and hence *tadantagrahaṇa* was *pratiṣiddha* in the previous *sūtra*. This *sūtra* is

intended to have *tadantagrahaṇa* by taking *ōt* as *viśēṣaṇa* and *nipāta* as *viśēṣya*. If we interpret it in this way, the *vārttika Ōtaś cvipratiṣēdhaḥ* naturally follows. Besides, since *āhō, utāhō* are all *ōdantas*, there will be no difficulty to take them as single *nipātas*.

ओताश्विप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *cvi* ending in *ōt* (is necessary).

ओदन्तो निपात इत्यत्र च्व्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनदः अदः अभवत् — अदोऽभवत्, तिरोऽभवत् ।

If the *sūtra* is taken to mean that the *nipāta* ending in *ō* gets *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*, prohibition of those which end in *cvi* and *ō* is necessary as in the examples *adōऽbhavat, tirōऽbhat* where *adōऽbhavat* is the contracted form of the expression *anadaḥ, adaḥ, abhavat*.

न वक्तव्यः । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्य इत्येवं न भविष्यति ।

It need not be mentioned, since the above cannot come under the purview of this *sūtra* if we take recourse to the *paribhāṣā Lakṣaṇa-pratipadōktayōḥ pratipadōktasya grahaṇam*.

एवमपि अगौर्गौः समपद्यत — गोऽभवत्, अत्र प्राप्नोति ।

Even then the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* will reach *gō* in *gōऽbhavat*, where *gōऽbhavat* is the contracted form of *agāuḥ gāuḥ samapadyata*.

Note : *Mahābhāṣyakāra* refers to a resident of *Bāhīka* (*Balkh*) that he became a cow. Here the word *gō* is *pratipada* and not *lākṣaṇika*. Hence is the *ākṣēpa*.

एवं तर्हि गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः इति । तद्यथा गौरनुबन्ध्योऽग्नीषोमीय इति न वाहीकोऽनुबध्यते ।

If so, the *paribhāṣā Gāuṇamukhyayōḥ mukhyē kārya-sampratyayaḥ*[1] (is applied here). For example on hearing the *Vēdic* sentence *Gāur anubandhyō agnīṣōmīyaḥ* (a *gō* should be tied to the *yūpa* to propitiate the *dēvatās Agni* and *Sōma*, a resident of *Vāhīka* is not tied, (but only a cow).

कथं तर्हि वाहीके वृद्ध्यात्वे भवतः — गौस्तिष्ठति, गामानय इति ?

If so, how can *vṛddhi* in *gāuḥ* in the sentence *Gāuḥ tiṣṭhati* with reference to a *vāhīka* and *ātva* in *gām* in the sentence *gām ānaya* with reference to the same, be used ?

अर्थाश्रय एतदेवं भवति । यद्धि शब्दाश्रयं शब्दमात्रे तद्भवति ; शब्दाश्रये च वृद्ध्यात्वे ।

This (*gāuṇamukhyanyāya*) takes place when the *object denoted* is taken into account. That (grammatical rule) takes place when the *word* alone is taken to account ; *vṛddhi* and *ātva* are connected only with the words.

उञ ऊँ (1, 1, 17)

इह कस्मान्न भवति, आहो इति, उताहो इति ?

How does it not take place here in *āhō iti* and *utāhō iti*.
Note : This question arises by splitting *āhō* and *utāhō* into *ā* + *ha* + *u* and *uta* + *ā* + *ha* + *u* respectively.

उञ इत्युच्यते । न चात्रोञं पश्यामः ।

The word *uñaḥ* is mentioned (in the *sūtra*). We do not see *uñ* here (in *āhō* aud *utāhō*).

उञोऽयम् ; अन्येन सहैकादेश उञ्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।

1. ' Of the two—the primary denotation, and the secondary denotation, of a word, the former is taken for the purposes of action ' is the meaning of the *paribhāṣā*.

This is *uñ* ; it is mentioned as *ēkādēśa* along with another.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, न उञ् एकादेशः उञ्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते इति, यदयम् ओत् इत्योदन्तस्य निपातस्य प्रगृह्यसंज्ञां शास्ति ।

The procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that, since he enjoins *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* to *ōdanta* by the *sūtra Ōt*, the *uñ* which is *ēkādēśa* with another is not taken into account as *uñ* here.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् ; उक्तमेतत् प्रतिषिद्धार्थोऽयमारम्भः इति । दोषः खल्वपि स्याद्यद्युञेकादेश उञ्ग्रहणेन गृह्येत — जानु उ अस्य रुजति, जानू अस्य रुजति, जान्वस्य रुजति — मय उञो वो वा इति वत्वं न स्यात् ।

This does not serve as *jñāpaka*, since it has been said that the *sūtra* is intended to sanction what has not been sanctioned. Harm also will be done if operation takes place on *uñ* which is mentioned as *ēkādēśa* with another, since *v* cannot optionally replace *u* by the *sūtra Maya uñō vō vā* in *jānu u asya rujati* so that the form *jānvasya rujati* cannot be achieved, on account of its first becoming *jānū asya rujati*.

एवं तर्हि एकनिपाता इमे ।

If so, they are single *nipātas*.

अथवा द्वावुकाराविमौ ; एकोऽननुबन्धकः, अपरः सानुबन्धकः । तयोऽननुबन्धकस्तस्यैष एकादेशः ।

Or there are two kinds of *ukāra* ; one of them is without *anubandha* and the other is with *anubandha*. Here the *ēkādēśa* is with that which has no *anubandha* after it.

उञ इति योगविभागः

The *sūtra* is split into two *sūtras*, of which *Uñaḥ* is one.

Note : It is better if this *vārttika* reads thus *uña iti ū̃ iti yōgavibhāgaḥ*.

उञः, शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा भवति — उ इति, विति। ततः, ऊँ; उञ ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञकश्च — ऊँ इति।

The *sūtra Uñaḥ* means that *uñ* gets the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* in the opinion of *Ācārya Śākalya*. Hence we get the form *u iti*; the other form is *viti*. Then the *sūtra ū̐* is read. It means that *uñ* gets the *ādēśa ū̐* which is long *ū* which is *anunāsika* and which has *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* in the opinion of *Ācārya Śākalya* thus–*ū̐ iti*.

किमर्थो योगविभागः?

Of what use is *sūtra-split*?

ऊँ वा शाकल्यस्य

So that (the *ādēśa*) *ū̐* may become optional in the opinion of *Śākalya*.

शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन 'ऊँ' विभाषा यथा स्यात् — ऊँ इति, उ इति। अन्येषामाचार्याणां मतेन 'विति'।

So that the *sūtra ū̐* may enjoin *ū̐* optionally in the opinion of the *ācārya, Śākalya*, from which the forms *ū̐ iti* and *u iti* are achieved. From the opinion of other *ācāryas* the form *viti* is achieved.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे (1, 1, 18)

There are *four* topics that are discussed under this *sūtra*: (1) What is the harm if the word *artha* is absent in the *sūtra*? (2) What is the harm if the vedic locative singular is considered to be got by *pūrvasavarṇa* and not by the elision of the case-suffix? (3) The word *artha* may be a *jñāpaka* to the absence of *tadantavidhi* with reference to *pragṛhya*. (4) It suggests

that the former word of compounds like *vāpyaśva* does not get the designation *pragṛhya*.

ईदूतौ सप्तमीत्येव

It is enough if the *sūtra* is read *Īdūtāu saptamī*.

ईदूतौ सप्तमी इत्येव सिद्धं नार्थोर्थग्रहणेन ।

The desired object is accomplished if the *sūtra* is read *Īdūtāu saptamī* and hence there is no use of mentioning the word *artha* (in the *sūtra*).

लुप्तेऽर्थग्रहणाद्भवेत्

The *saṁjñā* may be applied even when there is the elision (of case-suffix) if the word *artha* is mentioned.

लुप्तायां सप्तम्यां प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति । क्व ? सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः (R. V. 7, 103, 2) । इष्यते चात्रापि स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति इत्येवमर्थम् अर्थग्रहणम् ।

If the seventh case-suffix is dropped, there is no chance for *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*. Where? In the word *gāurī* found in the Vedic sentence *Sōmō gāurī adhiśritaḥ*. It is desired to have the *samjñā* thereto. It cannot be achieved without special effort and hence the word *artha* is mentioned (in the *sūtra*).

नात्र सप्तमी लुप्यते ।

The seventh case-suffix is not elided here.

किं तर्हि ?

What then?

पूर्वसवर्णोऽत्र भवति ।

There is *pūrvasavarṇa* here (i.e.) the locative suffix has taken *pūrvasāvarṇya* by the *sūtra Supām sulukpūrvasavarṇā-cchēyāḍāḍyāyājālaḥ* (7, 1, 39).

पूर्वस्य चेत्सवर्णोऽसावाडांभावः प्रसज्यते

If *pūrvasavarṇa* is preferred (to *luk*), *ābhāva* and *ḍāmbhāva* may have to be preferred.

यदि पूर्वसवर्णः आडाम्भावश्च प्राप्नोति ।

If *pūrvasavarṇa* is preferred (to *luk*), there is chance for *ābhāva* and *ḍāmbhāva* to make their appearance (since they are *para* to *pūrvasavarṇa* in the *sūtra Supām suluk*... (7, 1, 39).

एवं तर्हि आहायम् ईदूतौ सप्तमीति ।

If so, he says that *īt* in *gāurī* and *ūt* in *tanū* are seventh case-suffixes (since they were with the seventh case-suffix which has been dropped).

न चास्ति सप्तमी ईदूतौ ।

Īt and *ūt* are never seventh case-suffixes.

तत्र वचनाद्भविष्यति ।

The same happens by so mentioning it.

वचनाद्यत्र दीर्घत्वम् ।

It will happen where the long vowel is enjoined by a *vidhi.*

नेदं वचनाल्लभ्यम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम्? यत्र सप्तम्या दीर्घत्वमुच्यते — दृतिं न शुष्कं सरसी शयानम् इति ।

This cannot be got by the mention of it. For there is another *prayōjana* for the mention. What? Where the lengthening of the final vowel of the seventh case is as in *sarasī* of the Vedic sentence *Dṛtim na śuṣkam sarasī śayānam* by the *vārttika Iyāḍiyājīkārāṇām upasaṅkhyānam.*

सति प्रयोजने इह न प्राप्नोति सोमो गौरी अधि श्रितः ।

Since there is *prayōjana* (elsewhere), it cannot be applied to *gāurī* in *sōmō gāurī adhiśritaḥ.*

तत्रापि सरसी यदि

Even then if the word *sarasī* exists.

तत्रापि सिद्धम् । कथम्? यदि सरसीशब्दस्य प्रवृत्तिरस्ति । अस्ति च लोके सरसीशब्दस्य प्रवृत्तिः । कथम्? दक्षिणापथे हि महान्ति सरांसि सरस्य इत्युच्यते ।

It can be got by *vacana* even there. How ? If the word *sarasī* is current in the nominative singular. Yes, the word *sarasī* is current in the world. How can it be so said ? For big lakes are called by the name *sarasyaḥ* in Deccan.

Note : The currency of the word *lōkē* in Deccan suggests that the word *sarasī* quoted from the *Vēda* stands on the same footing as *gāurī*.

ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे

It serves as *jñāpaka* that there is no *tadantagrahaṇam*.

एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो न प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां प्रत्ययलक्षणं भवति इति ।

If so, *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that the *paribhāṣā Pratyaya-grahaṇē tadantā grāhyāḥ* does not prevail with reference to *pragṛhyasaṁjñā*.

Note : Since the desired object is said to be achieved merely by the mention *īd-ūdāu ca saptamī,* the word *artha* is unnecessary and hence is taken as *jñāpaka*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्?

What is the use of this *jñāpana*?

कुमार्योरगारं कुमार्यगारम्, वध्वोरगारं वध्वगारम्, प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा न भवति ।

The designation *pragṛhya* through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* will not reach the words *kumārī* and *vadhū* in the compounds

kumāryagāram, vadhvagāram whose *vigrahavākyas* are *kumāryōḥ agāram* and *vadhvōḥ agāram*.

Note: Since it has already been decided that there is no *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in *saṁjñāvidhi*, and *pragṛhya* is a *saṁjñā*, such a *jñāpaka* as this is unnecessary. Hence is the following statement

मा वा पूर्वपदस्य भूत्

Let it not be applied to the former member.

अथवा पूर्वपदस्य मा भूत् इत्येवमर्थम् अर्थग्रहणम्, वाप्यामश्वः वाप्यश्वः, नद्यामातिः नद्यातिः ।

Or the mention of *artha* in the *sūtra* is for the purpose of telling that the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* may not reach the former member of the *nityasamāsas vāpyaśvaḥ* and *nadyātiḥ* whose *vigrahavākyas* are *vāpyām aśvaḥ* and *nadyām ātiḥ*.

Note: Since the expressions *vāpyām aśvaḥ* and *nadyām ātiḥ* do not help us in determining the meaning of the words *vāpyaśvaḥ* and *nadyātiḥ* and they are *saṁjñāvācakas, vāpyaśvaḥ* and *nadyātiḥ* are said as *nityasamāsas*.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽप्यर्थग्रहणे कस्मादेवात्र न भवति ?

How is it that *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* does not roach here even when the word *artha* is read ?

Note: This *ākṣēpa* arises from the notion that *saptamyartha* exists in the former members of *vāpyaśva* and *nadyāti*.

जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः इति ।

Since the *vṛtti* that operates here is *jahatsvārthā* (i.e.) the individual members of compounds cast off their meaning and the compound alone is taken to have the meaning and hence there is no *saptamyartha* in the former member.

अथ अजहत्स्वार्थायां वृत्तौ दोष एव ।

The difficulty is sure to arise if the *vṛtti* is taken to be *ajahatsvārthā*.

अजहत्स्वार्थायां च न दोषः ।

There is no harm even if the *vṛtti* is taken to be *ajahatsvārthā*.

समुदायार्थोऽभिधीयते ।

For each member of a compound has for its meaning that of the whole compound mixed with its own meaning.

Note 1: *Kāiyaṭa* says that the meaning of the individual components of a compound is so merged with that of the whole compound like dust and water that they cannot be differentiated.

Note 2: Those noted above as *vārttika* are the parts of the following *Ślōkavārttika*:

ईदूतौ सप्तमीत्येव लुप्तेऽर्थग्रहणाद्भवेत् ।
पूर्वस्य चेत्सवर्णोऽसावाडाम्भावः प्रसज्यते ॥

वचनाद्यत्र दीर्घत्वं तत्रापि सरसी यदि ।
ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे मा वा पूर्वपदस्य भूत् ॥

This *Ślōkavārttikakāra* seems to be different from the *Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana* from the *ślōkavārttika* at the end of the *Pratyāhārāhnika*.

Note 3: According to *Ślōkavārttikakāra*, the word *artha* in the *sūtra* is intended to prevent the *pragṛhya-saṁjñā* from operating on the former member of the compound words *vāpyaśva* and *nadyāti*. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* differs from him saying that the component members of a compound do not convey any meaning or convey their meaning merged in

the meaning of the whole compound. Hence this *sūtra* is intended only to prevent the *pragṛhya-saṁjñā* from operating on uncompounded words like *gāurī* in the Vedic sentence. If the *sūtra* is read without the word *artha*, the desired object is achieved from *vacanasāmarthya*; if it is read with the word *artha*, it is achieved without taking recourse to *vacanasāmarthya*. Since *Kātyāyana* has not mentioned anything under this *sūtra*, he seems to favour *arthagrahaṇa*.

[1] दाधा घ्वदाप् (1, 1, 16)

There are *four* topics dealt with here: (1) the need or otherwise of reading the word *prakṛtayaḥ* in the *sūtra*; (2) the need of *pratiṣēdha* of words of the same form from taking the designation *ghu*; (3) the need or otherwise of *pratiṣēdha* of *dīṅ* with reference to *itva*; and (4) whether *dāp* in *adāp* includes *dāip* or not.

I

घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं शिदर्थम्

1. The roots *ḍudāñ* (3rd conj.), *dāṇ* (1st conj.), *dō* (4th conj.) ond *dēṅ* (1st conj.) are included under *dā* of the *sūtra* and the roots *ḍudhāñ* (3rd conj.) and *dhēṭ* (1st conj.) The roots *dāp* (2nd conj.) and *dāip* (1st conj.) are not included under *dā*.

Of the four included under *dā*, the first two naturally end in *ā* and the last two (*dō* and *dē*) assume the form *ā* before all terminations other than *śit* by the *sūtra ād-ēca upadēśē'siti* (6, 1, 45). Similarly of the two included under *dhā*, the former naturally ends in *ā* and the latter (*dhēṭ*) which ends in *ē* assumes the form *ā* before all terminations other than *śit* by the same *sūtra*. Hence the roots that come for discussion are *dō* and *dē* which assume the form of *dā* and *dhē* which assumes the form *dhā*. The root *dāi* comes for discussion whether it is included in *dāp* or no.

(The need for) the mention of the word *prakṛti* in the *sūtra* enjoining the designation *ghu* for the sake of *śit*.

घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् — दाधाप्रकृतयो घुसंज्ञा भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् ।

Mention of the word *prakṛti* is needed in the *sūtra* enjoining *ghusaṁjñā*; it needs be said that *dādhāprakṛtayaḥ* gets the *ghusaṁjñā*.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

What is the benefit?

आत्वभूतानामियं संज्ञा क्रियते, सा आत्वभूतानामेव स्यात् अनात्वभूतानां न स्यात् ।

The *saṁjñā* is enjoined to those that end in *ā*; hence it will hold good only to those that end in *ā* and not to those that do not end in *ā*.

ननु च भूयिष्ठानि घुसंज्ञाकार्याणि आर्द्धधातुके? तत्र च एत आत्वभूता दृश्यन्ते ।

Is it not that most of the operations based on *ghusaṁjñā* are with reference to *ārdhadhātuka*? These (that do not radically end in *ā*) end in *ā* there.

शिदर्थम् — शिदर्थं प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् — शिति आत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते तदर्थम् — प्रणिदयते, प्रणिद्यति, प्रणिधयति इति ।

For the sake of terminations which have *ś* for the *anubandha*. The mention of *prakṛti* is needed for the sake of *śit*. The *ātva* is prohibited before the termination which is *śit* [1] and it is for its sake (that the mention is to be made).

Ex.—*praṇidayatē, praṇidyati praṇidhayati*.

1. आदेच उपदेशेऽशिति (6, 1, 45)

Note : *Praṇidayatē* is the third person singular present of *dē* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni*. The *ē* of *dē* takes *ayādēśa* before the first conjugational suffix *śap* and *n* of *ni* is changed to *ṇ* by the *sūtra Nēr-gada-nada-pata-ghu-mā-syati ... cinōti-dēgdhiṣu* (8, 4, 17). In *pra-ni-dē-a-tē*, *n* becomes *ṇ* only if *dē* has the *ghusaṁjñā*. *Praṇidyati* is the third person singular of the root *dō* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni*. Since *dō* belongs to the fourth conjugation, the formation of the word is thus: *pra-ni-dō-ya-ti* where *ya* is *śyan*. The *n* of *ni* can change to *ṇ* only when *dō* has the *ghusaṁjñā*. The *ō* of *dō* is dropped by the *sūtra Ōtaḥ śyani* (7, 3, 71) and *n* is changed to *ṇ* by the *sūtra Nēr gada....* (8, 4, 17). *Praṇidhayati* is the third person singular of the root *dhē* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni*. Since *dhē* belongs to the first conjugation, the formation of the word is thus: *pra-ni-dhē-a-ti* where *a* is *śap*. Here *ē* takes *ayādēśa* and *n* changes to *ṇ* by the same *sūtra*. Hence the roots *dō* and *dhē* have to take *ghusaṁjñā* for the sake of *ṇatva* as the root *dē*.

भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति —

घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं शिद्विकृतार्थम्

The school of *Bharadvāja* read that the *prakṛtigrahaṇa* is needed in the *ghusaṁjñāvidhāyakasūtra* for the sake of *śit* and *vikṛta*.

घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं क्रियते

Mention of *prakṛti* is made in the *sūtra* which enjoins *ghusaṁjñā*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit ?

शिदर्थं विकृतार्थं च

For the sake of *śit* and *vikṛta.*

शित्युदाहृतम्

Examples where *śit* occurs have been given.

विकृतार्थं खल्वपि, प्रणिदाता [1], प्रणिधाता [2]

For the sake of forms where roots change their forms, as in *praṇidātā, praṇidhātā.*

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ?

How will not the forms be achieved (if *vikṛta* is not mentioned) ?

लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव इति प्रतिपदं ये आत्वभूतास्तेषामेव स्यात्, लक्षणेन ये आत्वभूतास्तेषां न स्यात् ।

Through the operation of the *paribhāṣā Lakṣaṇaprati-padōktayōḥ pratipadōktasyāiva,* only such roots as are read to end in *ā* are taken into account and not such roots that end in *ā* through *lakṣaṇā.*

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि प्रकृतिग्रहणे कथमिदं विज्ञायते — दाधाः प्रकृतय इति आहोस्विद् दाधां प्रकृतय इति ?

Even if there is *prakṛtigrahaṇa,* how is *dādhāprakṛtayaḥ* split ? Is it taken as a *karmadhāraya* compound so that it may be split as *dādhāḥ prakṛtayaḥ* or as a *tatpuruṣa* compound so that it may be split as *dādhām prakṛtayaḥ* ?

किं चातः ?

What if it is taken this way or the other ?

1. Here the root is *dō* or *dē.*
2. Here the root is *dhē.*

यदि विज्ञायते 'दाधाः प्रकृतयः' इति, स एव दोषः — आत्वभूतानामेव स्याद् अनात्वभूतानां न स्यात् । अथ विज्ञायते 'दाधां प्रकृतयः' इति अनात्वभूतानामेव स्याद् आत्वभूतानां न स्यात् ।

If it is taken as a *karmadhāraya* compound, the same difficulty will arise (i.e.) those that end in *ā* will get the *saṁjñā* and those that do not in *ā* will not get it. If, on the other hand, it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, those that do not end in *ā* will get the *saṁjñā* and those that end in it will not get it.

एवं तर्हि नैवं विज्ञायते, दाधाः प्रकृतय इति नापि दाधां प्रकृतय इति ।

If so, it is not interpreted either as *dādhāḥ prakṛtayaḥ* or as *dādhām prakṛtyaḥ*.

कथं तर्हि ?

How then ?

दाधा घुसंज्ञा भवन्ति, प्रकृतयश्चैषाम् इति ।

Dādhāḥ take *ghusaṁjñā* and their *prakṛtis* too.

तत्तर्हि प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

In that case it is necessary to mention *prakṛti* in the *sūtra*.

न कर्तव्यम् । इदं प्रकृतमर्थग्रहणमनुवर्तते ।

It need not be read. The word *artha* which is ready at hand is taken here.

क प्रकृतम् ?

Where is it ready ?

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे इति । ततो वक्ष्यामि दाधा घ्वदाप्, अर्थे इति ।

There is the *sūtra Īd-ūtāu ca saptamyarthē*. Then shall I read the *sūtra Dādhā ghvadāp* followed by the word *arthē*.

नैवं शक्यम्; ददातिना समानार्थान् रातिरासतिदासतिमंहतिप्रीणाति-प्रभृतीन् आहुः । एतेषामपि घुसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । तस्मान्नैवं शक्यम् । न चेदेवं, प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यमेव ।

This is not possible; they will include all roots which have the meaning 'to give' like *rā*, *rās*, *dās*, *mah*, *prī*[1] etc. These too will get the *ghusaṁjñā*. Hence it is not possible. If so, mention should be made of *prakṛti*.

न कर्तव्यम् । शिदर्थेन तावन्नार्थः प्रकृतिग्रहणेन । अवश्यं तत्र मार्थं प्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, प्रणिमयते प्रण्यमयते इत्येवमर्थम्; तत्पुरस्तात् अपकृष्यते[2] घुप्रकृतौ माप्रकृतौ च इति ।

This need not be mentioned. *Prakṛtigrahaṇa* is not necessary for the sake of *śit*. The word *prakṛti* has to be read there (in the *sūtra* *Nēr gada-nada-pata-pada-ghu-mā-syati*... (8. 4, 17) for the sake of *mā* so that *ṇatva* may occur in *pra-ni-mē-a-tē* and *pra-ni-a-mē-a-ta* (with reference to the root *mēṅ* of the first conjugation). It is taken with reference to *ghu* also (which immediately precedes *mā* in the *sūtra*), so that *ghu* and *mā* may mean *ghuprakṛti* and *māprakṛti*.

यदि प्रकृतिग्रहणं क्रियते, प्रनिमिनोति, प्रनिमीनाति अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

If the word *prakṛti* is read there, *ṇatva* will take place in the words *praniminōti* (third person singular present of *miñ* of the 5th conjucation) and *pra-ni-mī-nā-ti* (third person singular present of *mīñ* of the ninth conjucation), (since the roots *miñ* and *mīñ* are the *prakṛti* of *mā* on account of their taking the form *mā* on the strength of the *sūtra* *Mīnāti-minōti-dīṅām lyapi ca* (6, 1, 50)

अथ अक्रियमाणेऽपि प्रकृतिग्रहणे इह कस्मान्न भवति, प्रनिमाता, प्रनिमातुं, प्रनिमातव्यम् इति ?

1. In the sentence *pitṛbhyaḥ prīṇāti*, *prī* means to give.
2. अपकृष्यते is another reading.

Even if the word *prakṛti* is not read, what prevents *ṇatva* from making its appearance in *pra-ni-mātā*, *pra-ni-mātum*, *pra-ni-mātavyam* ?

आकारान्तस्य ङितो ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते ।

It is interpreted that it refers to that which ends in *ā* and is *ṅit*.

यथैव तर्हि अक्रियमाणे प्रकृतिग्रहणे आकारान्तस्य ङितो ग्रहणं विज्ञायते, एवं क्रियमाणेऽपि प्रकृतिग्रहणे आकारान्तस्य ङितो ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते ।

Just as even when the word *prakṛti* is not read it is interpreted that it refers to that which ends in *ā* and is *ṅit*, so also even when the word *prakṛti* is read, it is interpreted that it refers to that which ends in *ā* and is *ṅit*.

Note : *Kātyāyana* wants the *prakṛtigrahaṇa* in the *sūtra*, whole *Mahābhāṣyakāra* does not want it. But the latter wants it after *mā* in the *sūtra* *Nēr-gada-nada-pata-pada-ghu-mā...* (8, 4, 17). But it is mentioned in the *bhāṣya* under that *sūtra*.

विकृतार्थेन चापि नार्थः । दोष एवैतस्याः परिभाषाया लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव इति, गामादाग्रहणेष्वविशेषः इति ।

The word *vikṛta* need not be ; for the *paribhāṣā* *Lakṣaṇa-pratipadōktayōḥ pratipadōktasyāiva* does not hold good with reference to *gā*, *mā* and *dā*.

Note 1 : The fact that *pitva* in *adāp* refers to *dāip* also, suggests that *ghusaṁjñā* refers to *dā* in general whether it is *pratipada* or *lākṣaṇika*.

Note 2 : *Mahābhāṣyakāra* does not agree with the *Bhāradvājīyas* about *prakṛtigrahaṇa* in the *sūtra* and the reasons adduced by them.

II

समानशब्दप्रतिषेधः

Pratiṣēdha of *samānaśabdas* (from taking the *saṁjñā*).

समानशब्दानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः — प्रनिदारयति प्रनिधारयति ; दाधा घुसंज्ञा भवन्तीति घुसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

Pratiṣēdha of words which assume the same form has to be done. The roots *dr̥ṅ* (sixth conjugation), *dhr̥ṅ* (first conjugation) assume the form *pranidārayati* and *pranidhārayati* in the causal third person singular present when they are preceded by the prepositions *pra* and *ni*. Since *dr̥* and *dhr̥* become *dā* and *dhā* after taking *vr̥ddhi* and before the *sūtra Uraṇ raparaḥ* operates, they take *ghusaṁjñā* from this *sūtra*.

Note : If they take *ghusaṁjñā*, the *n* of the *upasarga ni* will be changed to *ṇ*.

समानशब्दाप्रतिषेधोऽर्थवद्ग्रहणात्

No need of *pratiṣēdha* of *samānaśabdas*, on account of taking forms having meaning.

समानशब्दानामप्रतिषेधः । अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधः अप्रतिषेधः । घुसंज्ञा कस्मान्न भवति? अर्थवद्ग्रहणात्; अर्थवतोर्दाधोर्ग्रहणं, न चैतावर्थवन्तौ ।

There is no need of *pratiṣēdha* of forms which are similar. *Apratiṣēdha* means *pratiṣēdha* which has no benefit. How is it that *ghusaṁjñā* does not reach here? On account of taking forms having meaning. *Dā* and *dhā* referred to in the *sūtra* have reference to those which have meaning; *dā* and *dhā* which are part of *dār* and *dhār* have no meaning.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा

On account of (*pra* and *ni*) not becoming *upasargas* (with reference to them).

अथवा यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयः तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतः । न चैतौ दाधौ प्रति क्रियायोगः ।

Or *pra* etc. take *gatisaṁjñā* and *upasargasaṁjñā* only with reference to those roots with whose meanings they are connected. These two *dā* and *dhā* are not roots having meaning.

यद्येवम् इहापि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति — प्रणिदापयति, प्रणिधापयति; अत्रापि नेतौ दाधावर्थवन्तौ, नाप्येतौ दाधौ प्रति क्रियायोगः ।

If so, *ghusaṁjñā* will not reach here too (with reference to *dāp* and *dhāp*) in *praṇidāpayati* and *praṇidhāpayati* (so that *ṇatva* may not take place); for these two *dā* and *dhā* here have no meaning, nor are they connected with any action.

Note: Since the causal meaning is to be taken to account, it is only *dāp* and *dhāp* that have meaning and that are connected with action.

· न वाऽर्थवतो ह्यागमस्तद्गुणीभूतस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते यथान्यत्र

No; for the *āgama* is enjoined to that which has meaning and is subordinate to it and hence the whole is considered not to vary from the original in the same way as it is seen in other places.

न वैष दोषः

No, this objection does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अर्थवत आगमस्तद्गुणीभूतोऽर्थवद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।

The *āgama* is enjoined to that which has meaning and is subordinate to it; (the whole) is taken not to vary from the original.

यथान्यत्र — तद्यथा — अन्यत्राप्यर्थवत आगमोऽर्थवद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।

As elsewhere. For instance *āgama* is enjoined in other places to that which has meaning and the whole is considered to have the meaning of the original.

कान्यत्र ?

Where elsewhere ?

लविता, चिकीर्षिता इति ।

Lavitā, cikīrṣitā.

Note : The *iḍāgama* is enjoined to the *pratyaya tṛc* and *itā* has the same meaning as *tṛc.*

युक्तं पुनर्यन्नित्येषु नाम शब्देष्वागमशासनं स्यात् ?

Is it proper to enjoin *āgamas* to *śabdas* which are *nitya ?*

न ; नित्येषु नाम शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजन-विकारिभिः । आगमश्च नाम अपूर्वः शब्दोपजनः ।

No ; *śabdas* which are *nitya* should be made up of letters ever existing, undying and not allowing elision, augmentation and substitution. *Āgama* is that which is newly introduced.

बाढं युक्तम् । शब्दान्तरैरिह भवितव्यम् ; तत्र शब्दान्तरे शब्दान्तरस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्युक्ता ।

Yes, it is quite correct. They should be taken here as different *śabdas* ; but it is but proper one word gives the same sense as another.

आदेशास्तर्हि भविष्यन्ति अनागमकानां सागमकाः ।

In that case words with *āgama* replace those without *āgama.*

तत्कथम् ?

How is it ?

सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः ।
एकदेशविकारे हि नित्यत्वं नोपपद्यते ॥

In the opinion of *Pāṇini,* the son of *Dākṣi,* all are the *ādēśas* of the rest ; for the *nityatva* will be marred even if there is slight change (of the word).

III

दीङः प्रतिषेधः स्थाघ्वोरित्वे

With reference to the *sūtra Sthāghvōr icca* (1, 2, 17) *pratiṣēdha* of *dīṅ* is needed.

दीङः प्रतिषेधः स्थाघ्वोरित्वे वक्तव्यः — उपादास्तास्य स्वरः शिक्षकस्य इति । मीनातिमिनोत्यात्त्वे कृते, स्थाघ्वोरिच्च इति इत्त्वं प्राप्नोति ।

There is need to mention that the root *dīṅ* (of the fourth conjugation) does not come within the operation of the *sūtra Sthāghvōr icca*. Hence alone we can have the form *upādāsta* which is found in the expression *upādāsta asya svaraḥ śikṣakasya* (the tone of this pupil has gone down). For the formation of that word is thus: The root is *dī*, *a* the augment, *upa* is the preposition, *s* is the *sic* of aorist and *ta* is the third person singular termination; *dī* in *upa-a-dī-s-ta* is changed to *dā* by the *sūtra Mīnāti-minōti-dīṅām lyapi ca* (6, 1, 50). Now assuming that *dā* gets the *ghusaṁjñā*, the *ā* has a chance of changing to *i* by the *sūtra Sthāghvōr icca* (1, 2, 17).

कुतः पुनरयं दोषो जायते ? किं प्रकृतिग्रहणाद् आहोस्विद् रूपग्रहणात् ?
Wherefrom does this difficulty arise? Is it by taking the *prakṛti* to be *ghu* or the actual form got to be so ?

रूपग्रहणादित्याह ; इह खलु प्रकृतिग्रहणाद्दोषो जायते — उपदिदीषते, 'सनि मीमाघुरभलभः ...' इति ।

He says that it is by taking the actual form. If the *prakṛti* is taken into consideration, there will be difficulty in the formation of the word *upa-di-dī-ṣ-a-tē* since the *sūtra Sani mī-mā-ghu-rabha-labha-śaka-pata-padām aca* is (by which the form should be *upaditsatē*).

नैष दोषः । दाप्रकृतिः इत्युच्यते ; न चेयं दाप्रकृतिः ; आकारान्तानामेजन्ताः प्रकृतयः, एजन्तानामपीकारान्ताः, न च प्रकृतेः प्रकृतिः प्रकृतिग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।

The difficulty does not arise if *prakṛtigrahaṇa* is taken recourse to. For it is mentioned that *dāprakṛti* takes *ghusaṁjñā*. This (*dīṅ*) is not the *prakṛti* of *dā*; those that end in *ā* have their *prakṛti* in those that end in *ēc*[1] and those that end in *ēc* have their *prakṛti* in those that end in *ī*. That which is one's *prakṛti's prakṛti* is not taken as its *prakṛti*.

Note: From this it is seen that there is difficulty if *rūpagrahaṇa* is taken into consideration.

स तर्हि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

In that case the *pratiṣēdha* has to be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यः ।

It need not be mentioned.

घुसंज्ञा कस्मान्न भवति ?

How does not *dā* (of *dīṅ*) get *ghusaṁjñā*?

'सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य' इत्येवं न भविष्यति ।

Ghusaṁjñā does not reach it on the application of the *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhiḥ animittam tad-vighātasya*.

Note: The application of the *paribhāṣā* may be explained thus: *Dī* in *upa-a-dī-s-ta* changes to *ā*. This *ātva* which comes in *ējviṣaya* is dependent upon the *akitva* of the *sic*. If this takes *ghusaṁjñā* and changes to *i* on the strength of the *sūtra Sthāghvōr icca*, *sic* has to become *kit*. Hence the *ākāra* which came to existence depending upon *kitva* will not be responsible to enable the root take *ghusaṁjñā* which will change the *kit* into *akit*.

1. Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit's *vṛtti* under the *sūtra Mīnāti minōti dīṅām lyapi ca* may be noted.

IV

दाप्प्रतिषेधे न दैप्यनेजन्तत्वात्

The *pratiṣēdha adāp* does not refer to the root *dāip* also, since it is not *ējanta*.

दाप्प्रतिषेधे दैपि प्रतिषेधो न प्राप्नोति – अवदातं मुखम् ।

Prohibition of *dāp* does not include that of the root *dāip* also. Hence the form *avadātam* in the expression *avadātam mukham* has no authority for its formation.

ननु चात्त्वे कृते भविष्यति ।

Oh! it comes into existence when *āi* is changed to *ā*.

तद्धि आत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

But the change of *āi* to *ā* cannot take place.

किं कारणम्?

Why?

अनेजन्तत्वात्

Since the root does not end in *ēc*

Note: Since the root in *upadēśa* is read as *dāip*, it is *pakārānta* and not *ējanta*.

सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात्

The object is accomplished since the *anubandha* is not a determining factor.

सिद्धम् एतत्

This (the desired object) is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

अनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात्; अनेकान्ता अनुबन्धाः ।

On account of the non-determining nature of *anubandha*. *Anubandhas* are not determining factors.

Note: Though the root is read as *dāip* and hence *pakārānta*, yet it may be taken to end in *āi* which is *ēc*, since the *anubandha* is dropped when words are formed from roots.

पित्प्रतिषेधाद्वा

Or by reading *apit* in place of *adāp* in the *sūtra*.

अथ वा 'दाधा घ्वपित्' इति वक्ष्यामि । तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम्; अदाप् इति ह्युच्यमाने इहापि प्रसज्येत प्रणिदापयति ।

Or shall I read the *sūtra* thus: *Dādhā ghapit*. It is necessary to do the change. Otherwise, if *adāp* is read, the *pratiṣēdha* of *ghusaṁjñā* may operate in the formation of the word *praṇidāpayati* (and hence there will be no chance for *ṇatva*.)

शक्यं तावदनेन अदाबिति ब्रुवता बान्तस्य प्रतिषेधो विज्ञातुम् ।

Since *adābiti* is read, it may be split as *adāb iti* (in place of *adāp iti*) and hence it may be taken that the *pratiṣēdha* is only to *dāb* and not to *dāp*.

Note: In that case *dāp* and *dāip* would have to be read as *dāb* and *dāib* in the *sūtras* and hence this argument has been made as a passing one and cannot permanently stand.

सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते । यथान्यासमेवास्तु ।

The *sūtra*, then, changes in form. Let it be as it is.

ननु चोक्तं दाप्प्रतिषेधे न दैपि इति?

Has it not been said that the *pratiṣēdha* with reference to *dāp* cannot refer to *dāip*?

परिहृतमेतत्, सिद्धमनुबन्धस्यानेकान्तत्वात् इति ।

The difficulty has been solved by saying that the object is accomplished on account of the non-determining nature of *anubandhas*.

अथ एकान्तेषु दोष एव ।

Then the difficulty is sure to arise, if they are considered to have the determining nature.

एकान्तेष्वपि न दोषः । आत्त्वे कृते भविष्यति ।

There is no difficulty even if they have the determining nature. The *pratiṣēdha* comes into existence when *āi* is changed to *ā*.

ननु चोक्तं तद्धि आत्वं न प्राप्नोति ?

Has it not been said that *āi* cannot be changed to *ā* ?

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अनेजन्तत्वात् ।

Since the root does not end in *ēc*.

पकारलोपे कृते भविष्यति ।

It ends in *ēc* after *p* is dropped.

न ह्ययं तदा दाब्भवति ।

In that case it does not become a *dāp*.

भूतपूर्वगत्या भविष्यति ।

It becomes a *dāp* since it was a *dāp*.

एतच्चात्र युक्तं — यत्सर्वेष्वेव सानुबन्धकग्रहणेषु भूतपूर्वगतिर्विज्ञायते । अनैमित्तिको ह्यनुबन्धलोपस्तावत्येव भवति ।

This will be appropriate here to adopt *bhūtapūrvagati* in all forms with *anubandha* and the elision of *lōpa* is of a non-determining nature.

अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, नानुबन्धकृतमनेजन्तत्वम् इति यदयमुदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे इति मेङः सानुबन्धकस्य आत्त्वभूतस्य ग्रहणं करोति ।

Or the usage of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that *anējantatvam* cannot be determined by *anubandha* since he reads *māṅaḥ* to denote *mēṅaḥ* in the *sūtra Udīcām māṅō vyatīhārē* (3, 4, 19)

अथ वा दाबेवायं न दैबस्ति ।

Or there is no separate root as *dāib* ; it is only *dāb*.

कथम् अवदायति ?

How to get the form *avadāyati ?*

श्यन्विकरणो भविष्यति ।

It may be taken to belong to the fourth conjugation.

Note : *Vārttikakāra* thinks that the *sūtra Dādhā ghvadāp* should be changed into *Dādhāghvapit*. *Mahābhāṣya-kāra* differs from him and solves the difficulty raised if the *sūtra* is kept intact in three ways. But of them the third is not so important as the first and the second.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (1, 1, 20)

There are *three* topics dealt with here : (1) The need for substituting *vyapadēśivad* for *ādyantavad* or otherwise. (2) There is no need for this *sūtra* and (3) The merits accrued by the presence of this *sūtra*.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ?

Why is this said?

सत्यन्यस्मिन्नाद्यन्तवद्भावादेकस्मिन्नाद्यन्तवद्वचनम्

Since an object is *ādi* or *anta* relative to another, the need for the mention of *ādyantavad* with reference to a single unit.

सत्यन्यस्मिन् यस्मात् पूर्वं नास्ति परमस्ति स आदिरुच्यते; सत्यन्यस्मिन् यस्मात्परं नास्ति पूर्वमस्ति सोऽन्त इत्युच्यते; सत्यन्यस्मिन् आद्यन्तवद्भावात् एतस्मात् कारणादेकस्मिन् आद्यन्तापदिष्टानि कार्याणि न सिध्यन्ति; इष्यन्ते च स्युरिति। तान्यन्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यन्तीति एकस्मिन्नाद्यन्तवचनम्: एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ।

That which has nothing preceding it and has one following it, is called *ādi* relative to that which follows; that which has nothing following it and has one preceding it, is called *anta* relative to that which precedes. Since the fact of being *ādi* and *anta* of a unit is only with reference to another, the *kārya* relating to *ādi* or *anta* enjoined by the *sūtras* cannot take place when there is only one unit; but such *kāryas* are wished for (in the *śāstra*). This cannot be achieved except through the effort of enjoining that a single unit may be considered both as *ādi* and as *anta*. This is said only to achieve this purpose.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्?

Is this the benefit?

किं तर्हीति?

What then?

I

तत्र व्यपदेशिवद्वचनम्

In that case *ādyantavad* may be replaced by *vyapadēśivad.*

तत्र व्यपदेशिवद्भावो वक्तव्यः; व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन् कार्यं भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ।

In that case, mention should be made there of *vyapadēśivadbhāva*. It should be said that operations should be made on a single unit by taking recourse to *vyapadēśivadbhāva*.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

What benefit will thence be?

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमार्थम्

For the operation of the *sūtra Ēkācō dvē prathamasya.*

वक्ष्यति एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्येति बहुव्रीहिनिर्देश इति । तस्मिन् क्रियमाणे इहैव स्यात् — पपाच पपाठ; इयाय आर इत्यत्र न स्यात् । व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन् कार्यं भवति इत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ।

He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say under the *sūtra Ēkācō dvē prathamasya* (6, 1, 1), the *vārttika Ēkācō dvē prathamasya iti bahuvrīhinirdēśaḥ* (by which it is clear that the word *ēkāc* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound and not a *karmadhāraya* compound). According to it the *pa* of the roots *pac* and *paṭh* will be reduplicated; but reduplication cannot take place with reference to the roots *i* (to go) and *ṛ* (to go.) The object is achieved thereto by adopting the principle that what happens to the primary *ēkāc*, happens even when there is only one vowel.[1]

Note : The same idea is expressed in the *vārttika Ēkavarṇēṣu ca vyapadēśivadvacanāt* under (6, 1, 1)

षत्वे चादेशसम्प्रत्ययार्थम्

For the sake of operation of the *sūtra Ādēśapratyayōḥ* with reference to *ṣatva*.

वक्ष्यति 'आदेशप्रत्यययोरित्यवयवषष्ठ्येषा इति । एतस्मिन् क्रियमाणे इहैव स्यात् करिष्यति हरिष्यति; इह न स्यात् इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्, स देवान्यक्षत् इति । व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन् कार्यं भवति इत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ।

He is going to say that the sixth case in the word *ādēśapratyayōḥ* is *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. According to it, *ṣatva* will take place only in *kariṣyati* and *hariṣyati* (since *s* is a part of the *pratyaya sya*) and not in the words *vakṣat* and *yakṣat* in the Vēdic expressions *Indrō mā vakṣat* and *Sa dēvān yakṣat* (since *s* is the *pratyaya* itself and not a part of the *pratyaya*). The

1. *Cf.* मुख्य एकाज्व्यपदेशः येषामस्ति ते व्यपदेशिनः पचादयः ; ते यथा द्विर्वचनं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तथैकवर्णा अपि (*Pradīpa* under 6, 1, 1).

object will be achieved here too by taking recourse to the principle that the operation takes place even to one in the same way as it takes place to *vyapadēśin*.

स तर्हि व्यपदेशिवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ।

Then the *vyapadēśivadbhāva* should be mentioned (in the *sūtra*).

न वक्तव्यः ।

It need not be mentioned.

अवचनाल्लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् .

The object is achieved from worldly experience without any mention of *vyapadēśivadbhāva* here.

अन्तरेणैव वचनं लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धमेतत् ।

This is accomplished from the experience of the world without its being mentioned here.

तद्यथा लोके — शालासमुदायो ग्राम इत्युच्यते भवति चैतदेकस्मिन्नपि 'एकशालो ग्रामः' इति ।

For instance in the world a village is that which is a collection of houses and even when there is only one house it is said that the village consists of one house.

Note : Certain editions read *ēkaśālā* for *ēkaśālaḥ*. In that case the meaning is this :—a group of houses is generally called a village and even when there is only one, it is also called village.

विषम उपन्यासः । ग्रामशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः — अस्त्येव शालासमुदाये वर्तते, तद्यथा ग्रामो दग्ध इति ; अस्ति वाटपरिक्षेपे वर्तते, तद्यथा ग्रामं प्रविष्ट इति ; अस्ति च मनुष्येषु वर्तते, तद्यथा ग्रामो गतः, ग्राम आगत इति, अस्ति सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते, तद्यथा ग्रामो लब्ध इति । तद्यः सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते, तमभिसमीक्ष्यैतत्प्रयुज्यते एकशालो ग्राम इति ।

Unsound is the argument. The word *grāma* has many connotations: it connotes a group of houses, as in '*grāma* is burnt'; it connotes a garden which forms the boundary, as in 'he has entered the *grāma*'; it connotes the inhabitants, as in '*grāma* is gone', '*grāma* is come'; it connotes the space including forests, boundary limits, altars etc., as in '*grāma* is got'. The usage *ēkaśālō grāmaḥ* is based upon the last connotation (i.e.) the space including forests, boundary limits, altars etc.

यथा तर्हि वर्णसमुदायः पदं, पदसमुदाय ऋक्, ऋक्समुदायः सूक्तम् इत्युच्यते, भवति चैतदेकस्मिन्नपि एकवर्णं पदं, एकपदा ऋक्, एकर्चं सूक्तम् इति।

If so, just as we have that a word is made up of a group of sounds, a *ṛk* is made up of a group of words and a *sūkta* is made up of verses, so also we have the expressions that the word is made up of one sound, a *ṛk* is made up of one word and a *sūkta* is made up of a *ṛk*.

अत्राप्यर्थेन युक्तो व्यपदेशः, पदं नामार्थः, ऋङ् नामार्थः, सूक्तं नामार्थः इति।

Even here the usage is connecting one object with another, *pada* has one connotation, *ṛk* has one connotation and *sūkta* has one connotation.

यथा तर्हि, बहुषु पुत्रेषु एतदुपपन्नं भवति, अयं मे ज्येष्ठः, अयं मे मध्यमः, अयं मे कनीयान् इति, भवति चैतत् एकस्मिन्नपि, अयमेव ज्येष्ठः, अयमेव मध्यमः, अयमेव कनियान् इति।

If then just as the usage that, among three sons, this is my eldest, this is my middle, and this is my youngest is appropriate, so also the usage that, when there is only one son, this is my eldest, this is my middle and this is my youngest is appropriate.

Note: Since the minimum number that is necessary to be denoted by plural suffix is three, *bahuṣu putrēṣu*

is translated here 'among three sons'. This is well explained in the *kapiñjalādhikaraṇa* of *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*.

तथा असूतायाम् असोष्यमाणायां च भवति प्रथमगर्भेण हता ।

Similarly it is said that the lady is dead at the first *garbha,* though she has not given birth to any child previously nor is she going to give birth to any child in future.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* says that the usage of the first *garbha* here is in imitation of a similar usage with reference to a lady who has given birth to many children.

तथा अनेत्य अनाजिगमिषुराह, इदं मे प्रथममागमनम् इति ।

Similarly he who has not gone here previously and who is not going to come here in future says 'this is my first arrival'.

Note: *Vārttikakāra,* having raised the question whether the word *vyapadēśivad* may replace *ādyantavad* in the *sūtra,* has decided that it is not necessary, since it can be understood from the worldly experience. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* agrees with him.

II

आद्यन्तवद्भावश्च शक्योऽवक्तुम्

The expression *ādyantavad* may be removed from the *sūtra* (i.e.) the whole *sūtra* may be omitted.

कथम्? Why?

अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वादाद्यन्तयोः सिद्धमेकस्मिन्

It is achieved in one, since *ādi* is that which has nothing to precede it and *anta* is that which has nothing to follow it.

अपूर्वलक्षण आदिः, अनुत्तरलक्षणोऽन्तः; एतच्चैकस्मिन्नपि सम्भवति । अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वात् - एतस्मात् कारणात् - एकस्मिन्नपि आद्यन्तापदिष्टानि कार्याणि भविष्यन्ति इति नार्थ आद्यन्तवद्भावेन ।

Ādi is that which has nothing to precede it ; *anta* is that which has nothing to follow it. Because of the nature of having nothing to precede it and having nothing to follow it, for this reason, the *kāryas* enjoined to *ādi* and *anta* may happen in one and consequently no purpose is served by the expression *ādyantavad* (in the *sūtra*).

गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह — सत्यमेतत् सति त्वन्यास्मिन्निति ।

Gōnardīya says that the argument adduced for the necessity of the *sūtra Sati tvanyasmin ādyantavadbhāvād ēkasminnādyantavacanam* stands true.

Note : The appellation *Gōnardīya* refers, in the opinion of *Kāiyaṭa* and *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa*, to *Mahābhāṣyakāra* and in the opinion of *Haridīkṣita*, it refers to a *Vārttikakāra*. According to the former two, this sentence tells us that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* wants the *sūtra* against the opinion of *Vārttikakāra*. But in the opinion of *Haridīkṣita*, another *Vārttikakāra* who went by the name of *Gōnardīya* did not agree with the opinion of *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.

III

कानि पुनरस्य योगस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What are the benefits accrued by this *sūtra* ?

आदिवत्त्वे प्रयोजनं प्रत्ययञ्निदाद्युदात्तत्वे

The benefit of considering it to be the *ādi* is found in single-lettered *pratyayas*, *ñit* and *nit* taking the *udātta* enjoined to the *ādi*.

प्रत्ययस्य आदिरुदात्तो भवति इति, इहैव स्यात् कर्तव्यं[1] तैत्तिरीयः[2],

1. तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः (3, 1, 96)
2. तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण (4, 3, 102)

औपगवः[1] कापटवः इत्यत्र न स्यात् । 'ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्' इति, इहैव स्यात् अहिचुम्बकायनिः[2] आग्निवेश्यः[3], गार्ग्यः[4] कृतिः[5] इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

(In the absence of this *sūtra*) from the injunction that the *ādi* of *pratyaya* becomes *udātta,* the *ta* of *tavya* in *kartavyam* and *ī* of *īya* in *tāittirīya* may become *udātta* and not the *a* enjoined after *upagu* and *kapaṭu* in *apatyārtha.* Since it is said in the *sūtra Ñnityādir nityam* (6, 1, 197) that the *ādi* of *ñidanta* and *nidanta* is *udātta, a* which is the *ādi* of *ahicumbaka* and the *ā* which is the modified form of the *ādi* of *agnivēśa* become *udātta* and *gā* of *gārgya* and *kṛ* of *kṛti* which are single syllables cannot become *udātta.*

वलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्येट्

The *iḍāgama* to the *ārddhadhātuka* commencing with a *val.*

वलादेरार्द्धधातुकस्येट् प्रयोजनम् । आर्द्धधातुकस्येड् वलादेः इति, इहैव स्यात् करिष्यति हरिष्यति, जोषिषत् मन्दिषत् इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is *iḍāgama* to the *ārddhadhātuka* commencing with a *val* (irrespective of its being *ēkāc* or *no*). (In the absence of the *sūtra*), *iḍāgama* will come to the *s* of *sya* in *kariṣyati* and *hariṣyati,* but not to the *s* after the roots *juṣ* and *mand,* by the *sūtra, Ārddhadhātukasyēḍ valādēḥ.*

यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादित्वे

Operation of an injunction on the basis of the initial member.

1. तस्यापत्यम् (4, 1, 92).
2. वाकिनादीनां (फिञ्) कुक्च (4, 1, 158).
3. वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ् (4, 1, 171).
4. गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् (4, 1, 105)
5. स्त्रियां क्तिन् (3, 3, 94)

यस्मिन् विधिस्तदादित्वे प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यति यस्मिन् विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे इति । तस्मिन् क्रियमाणे 'अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ' इहैव स्यात् श्रियः भ्रुवः, श्रियौ भ्रुवौ इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is to apply the injunction with reference to the initial irrespective of its being one letter or more than one. He is going to say the *paribhāṣā Yasmin vidhis tádādāu algrahaṇē*. According to it the *iyaṅ-ādēśa* and *uvaṅ-ādēśa* will take place to *ī* and *ū* of *śrī* and *bhrū* before *as* so that the forms *śriyaḥ* and *bhruvaḥ* may be obtained and not before *āu* so that the forms *śriyāu* and *bhruvāu* on the strength of the *sūtra Aci śnudhātubhruvām yvōr-iyaṅ-uvaṅāu* (6, 4, 77) may not be secured in the absence of this *sūtra*.

अजाद्याट्त्वे

With reference to the *āḍāgama* before roots commencing with a vowel.

अजाद्याट्त्वे प्रयोजनम् । आडजादीनाम् इहैव स्यात् ऐहिष्ट ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐष्ट अध्यैष्ट इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is in the *āḍāgama* before a root commencing with a vowel (irrespective of its being a single vowel or a vowel followed by a consonant). The *āḍāgama* will set in before the roots *īh* and *īkṣ* so that the forms *āihiṣṭa* and *āikṣiṣṭa* may be obtained and not before the roots *i* or *i* with *adhi* so that the forms *āiṣṭa* and *adhyāiṣṭa* may be obtained on the strength of the *sūtra Āḍajādīnām* (6, 4, 102), in the absence of this *sūtra*.

अथान्तवत्त्वे कानि प्रयोजनानि ?

What, then, are the benefits accrued from *antuvattva* ?

अन्तवद् द्विवचनान्तप्रगृह्यत्वे

With reference to *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* based on the dual number with certain endings.

अन्तवद्द्विवचनान्तप्रगृह्यत्वे प्रयोजनम् । ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्, इहैव स्यात् पचेते इति पचेथे इति, खट्वे इति माले इति इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is in the *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* which is based on the dual with certain endings (irrespective of their being one letter or more than one.) The *saṁjñā* will reach *pacētē* and *pacēthē* on account of the dual suffix being made of two letters and not *khaṭvē* and *mālē* on account of the dual suffix consisting of only one letter on the strength of the *sūtra Īd-ūd-ēd dvivacanam pragṛhyam,* in the absence of this *sūtra.*

मिद्चोन्त्यात्परः

Mit following the last vowel.

मिद्चोन्त्यात्परः प्रयोजनम् । 'नपुंसकस्य झलचः', इहैव स्यात् कुण्डानि वनानि, तानि यानि इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is the coming of *mit* after the last vowel (irrespective of the base consisting of one vowel or more). The *numāgama* before *i*, the nom-acc. plural ending in neuter, will appear only after *a* of *kuṇḍa* and *vana* so that the forms *kuṇḍāni* and *vanāni* may be obtained and not after *ta* and *ya* (the modified forms of *tad* and *yad* by the *sūtra Tyadādīnām aḥ* (7, 2, 102) on the strength of the *sūtra Napuṁsakasya jhalacaḥ* (7, 1, 72), in the absence of this *sūtra.*

अचोन्त्यादि टि

The *saṁjñā ṭi* which is given to the portion commencing with the last vowel.

अचोन्त्यादि टि प्रयोजनम् । 'टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे', इहैव स्यात् कुर्वाते कुर्वाथे, कुरुते कुर्वे इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is deciding the *ṭi* (whether the vowel in it is preceded by another or no). *Ētva* will appear in *kurvātē* and *kurvāthē* and not in *kurutē* and *kurvē* on the strength of the *sūtra Ṭita ātmanēpadānām ṭērē* (3, 4, 79) in the absence of this *sūtra.*

अलोन्त्यस्य

(The *ādēśa* which is *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭa*) to the last *al*.

अलोन्त्यस्य प्रयोजनम् । 'अतो दीर्घो यञि', 'सुपि च' इहैव स्यात् पटाभ्यां घटाभ्याम् इति, आभ्याम् इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is the operation to the last *al* (whether it is preceded by another or no). The *a* of the *adantāṅga* of *paṭa* and *ghaṭa* will be lengthened before *bhyām* and not *a* (the modified form of *idam* by the *sūtras Tyadādīnām aḥ* and *Hali lōpaḥ*) on the strength of the *sūtra Supi ca* where all the words found in the *sūtra Atō dīrghō yañi* have *anuvṛtti*, in the absence of this *sūtra*.

येन विधिस्तदन्तत्वे

With reference to the *viśēṣaṇa* becoming the *saṁjñā* of *tadanta*.

येन विधिस्तदन्तत्वे प्रयोजनम् । 'अचो यत्' इहैव स्यात् चेयं जेयम्, एयं अध्येयम् इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

The benefit is the *viśēṣaṇa* becoming the *saṁjñā* of *tadanta* (irrespective of its consisting of one letter or more than one). The *pratyaya yat* will come after the roots *ci* and *jī* and not after the root *i* and *i* with *adhi* on the strength of the *sūtra Acō yat*, in the absence of this *sūtra*.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् कार्यं भवति इत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ।

In all these instances the object is achieved by considering one unit to be both the initial, and the final, element.

Note : It remains to be considered whether the *Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana* who has definitely proved that this *sūtra* in unnecessary, would have given the above *vārttikas* relating to the *prayōjana* of the *sūtra*. It is possible that they were given by another *Vārttikakāra Gōnardīya*. More about *Gōnardīya* may be learnt from the introduction in Vol. i.

तरप्तमपौ घः (1, 1, 21)

घसंज्ञायां नदीतरे प्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *ghasaṁjñā* with reference to *nadītara.*

घसंज्ञायां नदीतरे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, नद्यास्तरः नदीतरः ।

Mention must be made that *nadītara* in the sense of *the boat used to cross a river* does not take *ghasaṁjñā.*

घसंज्ञायां नदीतरेऽप्रतिषेधः

No need for *pratiṣēdha* of *ghasaṁjñā* with reference to *nadītara.*

घसंज्ञायां नदीतरेऽप्रतिषेधः ; अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधः अप्रतिषेधः ।

There is no need for *pratiṣēdha* of *ghasaṁjñā* with reference to *nadītara* ; *apratiṣēdha* means *pratiṣēdhābhāvaḥ.*

Note : Kāiyaṭa explains *apratiṣēdha* by the statement *pratiṣēdhakriyā nañā niṣidhyatē* and Nāgēśabhaṭṭa further explains it thus: *Asandēha itivat pratiṣēdhyasya abhāva ityarthakō nañsamāsaḥ.*

घसंज्ञा कस्मान्न भवति ?

Why does not *ghasaṁjñā* reach it ?

तरब्ग्रहणं ह्यौपदेशिकम्

The word *tarap* refers to what is found in *upadēśa.*

औपदेशिकस्य तरपो ग्रहणं ; न चैष उपदेशे तरप्शब्दः ।

Mention is made of *tarap* found in *upadēśa* ; this *tarap* (in *nadītara*) is not found in *upadēśa.*

Note 1: The root *tṝ* takes the *pratyaya ap* after it by the *sūtra* *Ṝdōr-ap* (3, 3 57) and then *ṝ* takes *guṇa* and *tara* is formed ; it is called *tarap* here because

the *pratyaya ap* is *pit*. This is expressed by Kāiyaṭa thus :— *sarvatra ca anubandhāḥ smaryamāṇā ēva kāryam prati hētutvam labhantē iti ghasaṁjñāprāptiḥ*.

Note 2 : The word *āupadēśika* is derived by Kāiyaṭa in two ways :— *upadēśaḥ prayōjanam* (*prayōjakaḥ*) *asya* and *upadēśē bhavam*. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa seems to prefer the latter from the style of *Mahābhāṣya*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is this necessary to be mentioned ?

न हि। No, it need not be mentioned.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How can it be understood unless it is mentioned ?

इह हि व्याकरणे सर्वेष्वेव सानुबन्धग्रहणेषु रूपमाश्रीयते, यत्रास्यैतद्रूपमिति। रूपनिर्ग्रहश्च शब्दस्य नान्तरेण लौकिकं प्रयोगम् । तस्मिंश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे सानुबन्धकानां प्रयोगो नास्तीति कृत्वा द्वितीयः प्रयोग उपास्यते ।

Here, in *Vyākaraṇa*, the form is taken into account in all words with *anubandha* and the *saṁjñā* is given where that form is found. The form cannot be determined except through usage in the world. Since no word is found with *anubandha* in the *lāukikaprayōga*, the second *prayōga* is taken into consideration.

कोऽसौ ?

What is it ?

उपदेशो नाम ।

It is evidently *upadēśa*.

न चैष उपदेशे तरप्शब्दः ।

This (*tara* in *nadītara*) is not *tarap* in *upadēśa*.

अथ वा अस्तु अस्य घसंज्ञा; को दोषः ?

Or let it get *ghasaṁjñā*; what is the harm ?

Note: The introduction of this topic here is on adopting the *nyāya Tuṣyatu durjanaḥ iti.*

घादिषु नद्या ह्रस्वो भवति इति ह्रस्वत्वं प्रसज्येत ।

The *ī* and *ū* of those that get *nadīsaṁjñā* will get a chance of being shortened, if they are followed by *gha* [by the *sūtra Nadyāḥ śēṣasyānyatarasyām* (6, 3, 44)].

समानाधिकरणेषु घादिषु इत्येवं तत् ।

It (shortening) takes place only when it is followed by *gha* etc. which is *samānādhikaraṇa* (i. e.) which refers to the same *viśēṣya*. [1]

यदा तर्हि सैव नदी, स एव तरः, तदा प्राप्नोति ।

If *nadītara* is split as *nadī ca asāu taraśca,* then the shortening may take place.

Note: *Tara*, here, is taken in the sense of the object which is crossed over.

स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु घादिषु इत्येवं तत् ।

It is interpreted thus: followed by *ghādi* which is feminine in gender.

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । समानाधिकरणेषु घादिषु इत्युच्यमाने इह प्रसज्येत — महिषी रूपमिव, ब्राह्मणी रूपमिव ।

It must be interpreted so: If it is said that it takes place when it is followed by *gha* etc. which are *samānādhikaraṇa*, it will operate in *mahiṣī rūpam iva, brāhmaṇī rūpam iva* also.

1. *Cf.* सामानाधिकरण्यं च एकविशेष्यकबोधजनकत्वम् (उद्योत.)

बहुगणवतुडति सङ्ख्या (1, 1, 22)

There are *five* topics dealt with here:—(1) the need or otherwise of adding the word *saṅkhyā* after *ḍati* in the *sūtra* (2), (3) and (4) the need or otherwise of adding the words *adhyardha, ardhapūrvapadapūraṇapratyayānta* and *adhika* in the *sūtra* and (5) the *pratyākhyāna* of the *sūtra*.

I

सङ्ख्यासंज्ञायां सङ्ख्याग्रहणं सङ्ख्यासम्प्रत्ययार्थम्

Reading of the word *saṅkhyā* in the *sūtra* enjoining *saṅkhyāsaṁjñā* so that it may get the designation.

सङ्ख्यासंज्ञायां सङ्ख्याग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । बहुगणवतुडतयः संङ्ख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति, सङ्ख्या च सङ्ख्यासंज्ञा भवति इति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम्? सङ्ख्यासंप्रत्ययार्थम् — एकादिकायाः सङ्ख्यायाः सङ्ख्याप्रदेशेषु सङ्ख्येत्येष संप्रत्ययो यथा स्यात् ।

The word *saṅkhyā* has to be read in *saṅkhyā-saṁjñā-sūtra*. *Bahu, gaṇa, vatu* and *ḍati* get the designation *saṅkhyā* and *saṅkhyā* too should be said to get *saṅkhyāsaṁjñā*. Why should it be? For the sake of getting the designation to *saṅkhyā* — so that one should get the idea that the numbers *ēka* etc. may get the designation *saṅkhyā* in rules relating to *saṅkhyā*.

ननु चैकादिका सङ्ख्या लोके सङ्ख्येति प्रतीता; तेनास्याः सङ्ख्याप्रदेशेषु सङ्ख्यासंप्रत्ययो भविष्यति ।

Oh! it is well known from the world that the numbers *ēka* etc. go by the name of *saṅkhyā*; hence it may get the designation *saṅkhyā* in rules relating to *saṅkhyā*.

एवमपि कर्तव्यम्

Still it has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययोऽकृत्रिमत्वाद्यथा लोके

For otherwise there will be nonrecognition on account of their being *aktrima* as is in the world.

अक्रियमाणे हि सङ्ख्याग्रहणे एकादिकायाः सङ्ख्यायाः सङ्ख्येत्येष संप्रत्ययो न स्यात् ।

For if the word *saṅkhyā* is not read in the *sūtra*, it is not possible to recognise the numbers *ēka* etc. to get the designation *saṅkhyā*.

किं कारणम्? Why ?

अकृत्रिमत्वात् ।

Since they are not *kṛtrima* (i.e.) since they are not adopted as technical terms (in grammar).

बह्वादीनां कृत्रिमा संज्ञा ।

(On the other hand) the *saṁjñā* of *bahu* etc. is *kṛtrima*.

कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययो भवति ।

Of the two *kṛtrima* and *akṛtrima*, it is said that rules operate on *kṛtrima*.

यथा लोके । तद्यथा लोके, गोपालकमानय कटजकमानय इति यस्यैषा संज्ञा भवति, स आनीयते, न यो गाः पालयति, यो वा कटे जातः ।

As is in the world ; just as when one says ' Bring *gōpālaka*, bring *kaṭajaka* ', one who bears that name is brought in and not one who is tending cows or who is born on a straw-mat.

Note 1: People in the world do not seek after the derivative meaning of a word, but they are satisfied with its meaning by *rūḍhi* and proceed further to operate upon it.

Note 2: The words *gōpālaka* and *kaṭajaka* denote particular classes of people irrespective of their derivative meaning.

यदि तर्हि कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसम्प्रत्ययो भवति, नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः इत्यत्रापि प्रसज्येत ।

If, then, rules operate on *kṛtrima* among *kṛtrima* and *akṛtrima*, the *sūtra Nadī pāurṇamāsī-āgrahāyaṇībhyaḥ* (5, 4, 110) will operate on *kṛtrima nadī* which is described in the *sūtra Yūstryākhyāu nadī* (1, 4, 3) and not on the word *nadī* (which means a river).

पौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीग्रहणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति ।

It does not happen since the word *nadī* is read along with the words *pūrṇamāsī* and *āgrahāyaṇī*.

तद्विशेषेभ्यस्तर्हि प्राप्नोति ।

It may then refer to the individual rivers (like *Gaṅgā* etc).

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति 'न तद्विशेषेभ्यो भवति' इति, यदयं विपाट्छब्दं शरत्प्रभृतिषु पठति ।

Since *Ācārya Pāṇini* reads the word *vipāś* under *śarat-prabhṛti* under the *sūtra Avyayībhāvē śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ* (5, 4, 107), his procedure suggests that *nadī* in (5, 4, 110) does not refer to individual rivers.

इह तर्हि प्राप्नोति नदीभिश्च इति ।

If so, the same will happen to *nadī* in the *sūtra Nadībhiśca* (2, 1, 20) (i.e.) *nadī* may not refer to individual rivers here.

बहुवचननिर्देशान्न भविष्यति ।

No, it does not happen as it is mentioned in plural number.

स्वरूपविधिस्तर्हि प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the *sūtra Svam rūpam śabdasya*... (1, 1, 68) will operate.

बहुवचननिर्देशादेव न भविष्यति ।

It will not operate on account of the same mention in plural number.

एवं न चेदमकृतं भवति, कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः इति । न च कश्चिद्दोषो भवति ।

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the *nyāya Kṛtrimākṛtrimayōḥ kṛtrimē kāryasampratyayaḥ* is not nullified. There is no harm done by adopting it.

उत्तरार्थं च

For the sake of the following *sūtra* too.

उत्तरार्थं च सङ्ख्याग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् — ष्णान्ता षट् — षकारनकारान्तायाः सङ्ख्यायाः षट्संज्ञा यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् पामानः, विप्रुषः इति ।

The word *saṅkhyā* should be read for the sake of the following *sūtra Ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*, so that the designation *ṣaṭ* may reach the words ending in *ṣ* and *n* which are *saṅkhyāvācins* and not the words like *pāman* and *vipruṣ*.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* says that *saṅkhyā* in this *sūtra* refers to *form* and the same in the next *sūtra* refers to its *meaning*. But the word *ca* in this *vārttika* suggests that the word *saṅkhyā* mentioned here is not that found in the *sūtra*, but that to be added after *ḍati* in the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra*.

इहार्थेन तावन्नार्थः सङ्ख्याग्रहणेन ।

Even here no purpose is served by adding the word *saṅkhyā*.

ननु चोक्तम् इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययोऽकृत्रिमत्वाद्यथा लोके ।

Is it not said that there will, otherwise, be non-recognition on account of their being *akṛtrima* as is in the world ?

नैष दोषः । अर्थात्प्रकरणाद्वा लोके कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययो भवति । अर्थो वास्यैवंसंज्ञकेन भवति, प्रकृतं वा तत्र भवति, 'इदमेवंसंज्ञकेन

कर्तव्यम्' इति । आतश्च अर्थात्प्रकरणाद्वा — अङ्ग हि भवान् ग्राम्यं पांशुलपाद-मप्रकरणज्ञमागतं ब्रवीतु 'गोपालकमानय, कटजकमानय' इति, उभयगतिस्तस्य भवति; साधीयो वा यष्टिहस्तं गमिष्यति ।

No, this defect will not arise; for, of the two meanings *kṛtrima* and *akṛtrima*, the *kṛtrima* is chosen in the world from the denoting capacity of the word or from the context, the denoting capacity deciding that the meaning referred to should be this or the context deciding that the operation should be done by this. The meaning decided by the denoting capacity or the context (is to be admitted) for the following reason also; my dear boy, you may ask a rustic having feet full of dust and not knowing the context, to fetch *gōpālaka* or *kaṭajaka* and he will interpret the words in both the ways or rather he will take them to refer to one who has a stick in his hand (to watch cattle).

यथैव तर्हि अर्थात्प्रकरणाद्वा लोके कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययो भवति, एवमिहापि प्राप्नोति । जानाति ह्यसौ बह्वादीनामियं संज्ञा कृता इति ।

As the operation takes place in the world on the *kṛtrima* among *kṛtrima* and *akṛtrima* decided by the denoting capacity or the context, so also it is done here. He knows that here the *saṁjñā* is with reference to *bahu* etc. (since they are *prakṛta* here).

Note: *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that *buddhisannidhi* is the *prakaraṇa* here.

न यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे, उभयगतिः पुनरिह भवति ।

It is not seen in grammar as is seen in the world, since words have to be interpreted in both ways here.

अन्यत्रापि, नावश्यमिहैव । तद्यथा— 'कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म' इति कृत्रिमा कर्मसंज्ञा । कर्मप्रदेशेषु चोभयगतिर्भवति—'कर्मणि द्वितीया' इति कृत्रिमस्य ग्रहणं, 'कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे' इत्यत्र अकृत्रिमस्य । तथा 'साधकतमं करणम्' इति कृत्रिमा करणसंज्ञा । करणप्रदेशेषु चोभयगतिर्भवति —'कर्तृकरणयो-स्तृतीया' इति कृत्रिमस्य ग्रहणं, 'शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे' इत्यत्र

अकृत्रिमस्य । तथा 'आधारोऽधिकरणम्' इति कृत्रिमा अधिकरणसंज्ञा । अधिकरणप्रदेशेषु चोभयगतिर्भवति—'सप्तम्यधिकरणे च' इति कृत्रिमस्य ग्रहणं, 'विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि' इत्यत्राकृत्रिमस्य ।

It is seen not only here, but also elsewhere :—The *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamam karma* (1, 4, 49) enjoins *kṛtrima-karma-saṁjñā*. In places where the word *karma* is used, it has to be interpreted in both ways. It refers to *kṛtrima-karma* in the *sūtra Karmaṇi dvitīyā* (2, 3, 2) and to action—the *akṛtrima-karma* in the *sūtra Kartari karmavyatīhārē* (1, 3, 14). Similarly the *sūtra Sādhakatamam karaṇam* (1, 4, 42) enjoins the *kṛtrima-karaṇa-saṁjñā*. In places where the word *karaṇa* is used, it has to be interpreted in both ways. It refers to *kṛtrima-karaṇa* in the *sūtra Kartṛkaraṇayōs tṛtīyā* (2, 3, 18) and the act of doing, the *akṛtrimakaraṇa* in the *sūtra Śabda-vāira-kalaha-abhra-kaṇva-mēghēbhyaḥ karaṇē* (3, 1, 17). Similarly the *sūtra Ādhārō adhikaraṇam* (1, 4, 45) enjoins the *kṛtrima-adhikaraṇa-saṁjñā*. In places where the word *adhikaraṇa* is used, it has to be interpreted in both ways. It refers to *kṛtrima-adhikaraṇa* in the *sūtra Saptamyadhi-karaṇē ca* (2, 3, 36) and to *dravya*, the *akṛtrima-adhikaraṇa* in the *sūtra Vipratiṣiddham cānadhikaraṇavāci* (2, 4, 13).

अथ वा नेदं संज्ञाकरणम्, तद्वदतिदेशोऽयम् — बहुगणवतुडतयः सङ्ख्यावद्भवन्ति इति ।

Or, this *sūtra* is not a *saṁjñā-sūtra* but *atidēśa-sūtra* denoting similarity and it means that *bahu*, *gaṇa*, *vatu* and *ḍati* are like *saṅkhya*.

Note: Kāiyaṭa says that since the word *saṅkhyā* is not as short as the *saṁjñās ṭi*, *ghu* etc. and is used in the meaning current in the world, the *sūtra* is mentioned as an *atidēśa-sūtra*.

स तर्हि वतिनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः

If so, the term *vati* should be read in the *sūtra* (as in *Ādyantavad ēkasmin*).

न कर्तव्यः ।

It need not be read.

न ह्यन्तरेण वतिमतिदेशो गम्यते ।

Atidēśa is not suggested without *vati*.

अन्तरेणापि वतिमतिदेशो गम्यते । तद्यथा — एष ब्रह्मदत्तः — अब्रह्मदत्तं ब्रह्मदत्त इत्याह । तेन मन्यामहे ब्रह्मदत्तवदयं भवतीति ।

Atidēśa is suggested even without *vati*. For instance one says 'This is *Brahmadatta*' even though he is not *Brahmadatta*. From this we interpret that he is like *Brahmadatta*.

एवमिहापि असङ्ख्यां सङ्ख्येत्याह, सङ्ख्यावद् इति गम्यते ।

So also he calls *asaṅkhyā* by the name of *saṅkhyā* and hence it is suggested that they are like *saṅkhyā*.

Note : An objection may be raised that, since the word *bahu* is a *saṅkhyā*, the *atidēśa* cannot apply to it. *Nāgēśa-bhaṭṭa* answers this by saying that it does not denote any actual number and hence is not a a *saṅkhyā*.

अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति ; भवत्येकादिकायाः सङ्ख्यायाः सङ्ख्या-प्रदेशेषु सङ्ख्यासंप्रत्यय इति यदयं 'सङ्ख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन्' इति तिशदन्तायाः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

Or the procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that in *sūtras* dealing with *saṅkhyā*, the numbers *ēka* etc. are included since he prohibits the *taddhita* suffix to *kan* to numbers ending in *it* and *śat* in the *sūtra Saṅkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan* (5, 1, 22).

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How does it become a *jñāpaka* ?

न हि कृत्रिमा त्यन्ता शदन्ता वा सङ्ख्या अस्ति ।

Since there is no *kṛtrima-saṅkhyā* which ends in *ti* or *śat*.

20

ननु चेयमस्ति डति ?

Oh ! there is *ḍati* (in it).

यत्तर्हि शदन्तायाः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

If so, since he prohibits *śadanta*.

यच्चापि त्यन्तायाः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

Since he prohibits *tyanta* also.

ननु चोक्तं डत्यर्थमेतत्स्यात् इति ।

Oh ! it has been said that it is concerned with *ḍati*.

अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य इत्यर्थवतः तिशब्दस्य ग्रहणं न च डतेस्तिशब्दोऽर्थवान् ।

From the *paribhāṣā Arthavadgrahaṇē na anarthakasya*, only the *ti* which has meaning is taken into account in this *sūtra*; the *ti* of *ḍati* has no meaning.

अथ वा महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते ।

Or this is a great *saṁjñā*.

संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः

Saṁjñā is certainly that than which nothing is more brief.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so ?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्

For *saṁjñākaraṇa* is for brevity.

तत्र, महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्, अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत, संख्यायते अनया संख्येति । एकादिकया चापि संख्यायते ।

When that is the case, this is the benefit of making a great *saṁjñā* that it should be taken to be *anvartha* (acting

up to the derivative meaning) and the derivation of *saṅkhyā* is *saṅkhyāyatē anayā* (that by which objects are counted). The numbers one etc. too are used for counting.

उत्तरार्थेन चापि नार्थः संख्याग्रहणेन । इदं प्रकृतमुत्तरत्र अनुवर्तिष्यते ।

There is no need to add the word *saṅkhyā* even for the sake of the following *sūtra*. This (the word which is found in the *sūtra*) is taken there.

इदं वै संज्ञार्थम्; उत्तरत्र च संज्ञिविशेषणार्थः । न चान्यार्थं प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति । न खल्वप्यन्यत् प्रकृतमनुवर्तनादन्यद्भवति । न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति ।

This is for the sake of *saṁjñā*; but in the following *sūtra* it is to serve as an adjunct to the *saṁjñin*. That which has one purpose here cannot have another purpose there. It is not right to say that which is one thing here becomes a different thing when it goes elsewhere. A lizard moving cannot become a serpent simply because it has gone to another place.

यत्तावदुच्यते 'न चान्यार्थं प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति' इति; अन्यार्थमपि प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति — तद्यथा शाल्यर्थं कुल्याः प्रणीयन्ते, ताभ्यश्च पानीयं पीयते, उपस्पृश्यते च शालयश्च भाव्यन्ते ।

As regards the statement 'that which has one purpose here cannot have another purpose there', (it may be said that) which has one purpose here is found to have another purpose also elsewhere. For instance channels are cut for the sake of paddy; they are used for drinking water and for purification; and the paddy also is got.

यदप्युच्यते 'न खल्वप्यन्यत् प्रकृतमनुवर्तनादन्यद् भवति न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति' इति, भवेद् द्रव्येषु एतदेवं स्यात्; शब्दस्तु खलु येन येन विशेषणाभिसंबध्यते तस्य तस्य विशेषको भवति ।

As regards the statement 'that which is one thing here does not become a different thing when it goes elsewhere and that a lizard moving cannot become a serpent simply because

it has gone to another place, it may be with reference to objects; but the same *śabda* becomes adjunct in different ways with reference to different kinds of *viśēṣyas.*

अथ वा सापेक्षोऽयं ष्णान्तेऽपि निर्देशः क्रियते; न चान्यत् किञ्चिदपेक्ष्यमस्ति; तेन सङ्ख्यामेवापेक्षिष्यामहे ।

Or the expression *ṣṇāntāḥ* read in the *sūtra* is in need of something else to make its meaning clear. Nothing other than *saṅkhyā* is needed. Hence we take it there.

Note: Though *Vārttikakāra* has stated that the word *saṅkhyā* is to be added after *ḍati* in the *sūtra* so that the numbers *ēka* etc. may become the target to this *sūtra* and so that it may be taken by *anuvṛtti* in the following *sūtra*, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* feels that it is not necessary and achieves the object in many ways. Scholars will have to determine which, among the ways suggested, is the best.

II

अध्यर्द्धग्रहणं च समासकन्विध्यर्थम्

Reading of *adhyardha* for *vidhis* relating to *samasa* and *kan.*

अध्यर्धग्रहणं च कर्तव्यम् ।

The word *adhyardha* too should be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

What for?

समासकन्विध्यर्थम् — समासविध्यर्थं कन्विध्यर्थं च, समासविध्यर्थं तावत् अध्यर्धशूर्पम्, कन्विध्यर्थम् अध्यर्धकम् ।

For the sake of the *sūtra* (*taddhitārthōttarapadasamāhārē ca* (2, 1, 51) dealing with *samāsa* and the *sūtra* (*saṅkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan*) to operate (here)—for the sake of *samāsa-vidhi* and for the sake of *kanvidhi.* Firstly for the sake of

samāsavidhi so that the *samāsa adhyardhaśūrpam* may be got and then for the sake of *kanvidhi* so that the form *adhyardhakam* may be got.

लुकि चाग्रहणम् ।

Not reading it with reference to *luk*.

लुकि चाध्यर्धग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति—अध्यर्द्धपूर्वद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् इति, द्विगोरित्येव सिद्धम् ।

The word *adhyardha* need not be read in the *sūtra Adhyarddhapūrvaddvigōr lugasaṁjñāyām* (5, 1, 28), since the purpose is served by *dvigōḥ*.

III

अर्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः

Need for reading *ardhapūrvapadaśca pūraṇapratyayāntaḥ*.

अर्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ।

It should be stated, that which has *ardha* as the initial member and which ends in *pūraṇapratyaya* takes *saṅkhyā-saṁjñā*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

समासकन्विध्यर्थमेव, समासविध्यर्थं कन्विध्यर्थं च; समासविध्यर्थम् तावत् — अर्धपञ्चमशूर्पम्, कन्विध्यर्थम् — अर्धपञ्चमकम् ।

For the sake of *samāsavidhi* and for the sake of *kanvidhi*; firstly for the sake of *samāsavidhi* so that the *samāsa ardha-pañcamaśūrpam* may be got and thenfor the sake of *kanvidhi* so that the form *ardhapañcamakam* may be got.

IV

अधिकग्रहणं चालुकि समासोत्तरपदवृद्ध्यर्थम्

Need for reading the word *adhika* when there is no *uk* for the sake of *samāsavidhi* and *uttarapadavṛddhi*.

अधिकग्रहणं चालुकि कर्तव्यम्

The word *adhika* should be read in the *sūtra* in the absence of *luk*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

समासोत्तरपदवृद्ध्यर्थम्—समासविध्यर्थम् उत्तरपदवृद्ध्यर्थं च। समासविध्यर्थं तावत्—अधिकषाष्टिकः, अधिकसाप्ततिकः; उत्तरपदवृद्ध्यर्थम्—अधिकषाष्टिकः, अधिकसाप्ततिकः। अलुकि इति किमर्थम्? अधिकषाष्टिकः अधिकसाप्ततिकः।

For the sake of *samāsavidhi* and for the sake of *uttarapadavṛddhi* (by the *sūtra Saṅkhyāyāḥ saṁvatsarasaṅkhyasya ca* (7, 3, 15); firstly for the sake of *samāsavidhi* so that the *samāsa adhikaṣāṣṭikaḥ* and *adhikasāptatikaḥ* may be formed and then for the sake of *uttarapadavṛddhi* so that the same words *adhikaṣāṣṭikaḥ* and *adhikasāptatikaḥ* may be formed with *vṛddhi* in the *uttarapada*. What for is the expression *aluki* in the *vārttika*? So that the words *adhikaṣāṣṭikaḥ* and *adhikasāptatikaḥ* may be formed.

बहुव्रीहौ चाग्रहणम्

No mention in *bahuvrīhi*.

बहुव्रीहौ चाधिकशब्दस्य ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति, 'सङ्ख्यायाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसङ्ख्याः सङ्ख्येये' इति सङ्ख्या इत्येव सिद्धम्।

The word *adhika* need not be read in the *sūtra Saṅkhyāyā avyayāsannādūrādhikasaṅkhyāḥ saṅkhyēyē* dealing with *bahuvrīhi*, since it is accomplished from the mention of *saṅkhyā*.

V

बह्वादीनामग्रहणम्

No need for the mention of *bahu* etc. (in the *sūtra*).

बह्वादीनां ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्।

It is possible not to read *bahu* etc.

केनेदानीं सङ्ख्याप्रदेशेषु सङ्ख्यासम्प्रत्ययो भविष्यति ?

How then is it possible to know that these get the designation *saṅkhyā* so that they may be operated on by the *sūtras* dealing with *saṅkhyās* ?

ज्ञापकात् सिद्धम्

It is accomplished through *jñāpaka.*

ज्ञापकात् सिद्धमेतत् ।

This is an accomplished fact through *jñāpaka.*

किं ज्ञापकम् ?

What serves as *jñāpaka* ?

यदयं 'वतोरिड्वा' इति संख्याया विहितस्य कनो वत्वन्तात् इटं शास्ति ।

Because he (*Ācārya Pāṇini*) enjoins after *vatvanta* optionally the *iḍāgama* to *kan* enjoined to *saṅkhyās* by the *sūtra Saṅkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan* (5, 1, 22).

वतोरेव तज्ज्ञापकं स्यात् ।

It may serve as *jñāpaka* only to *vatu.*

नेत्याह ; योगापेक्षं ज्ञापकम् ।

No, he says ; *jñāpaka* is based on a number of *sūtras* :— [*Bahupūgagaṇasaṅghasaa tithuk* (5, 2, 52), *vatōrithuk* (5, 2, 53) and *ṣaṭkatikatipayacaturām thuk* (5, 2, 51)].

Note : *Vārttikakāra,* having dealt with the four topics at the beginning to sharpen the thinking capacity of the readers has finally mentioned that there is no need for this *sūtra,* since its purpose can be achieved through *jñāpakas. Mahābhāṣyakāra* agrees with him on this point.

ष्णान्ता षट् (1, 1, 23)

षट्संज्ञायामुपदेशवचनम्

Need for the word *upadēśa* in the *sūtra* dealing with *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*.

षट्संज्ञायामुपदेशग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; उपदेशे षकारनकारान्ता संख्या षट्-संज्ञा भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ।

The word *upadēśa* should be read in the *saṣṭaṁjñā-vidhāyakasūtra*; it should be said that those that end in *ṣ* or *n* at the *upadēśa* stage take *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

शताद्यष्टनोर्नुम्नुडर्थम्

To prevent *śata* etc. from taking the *ṣaṭsaṁjñā* after they take *num* and to enable *aṣṭan* to take *nuṭ* before *ām*.

शतानि सहस्राणि; नुमि कृते 'ष्णान्ता षट्' इति षट्संज्ञा प्राप्नोति; उपदेशग्रहणान्न भवति । अष्टानामित्यत्र आत्वे कृते षट्संज्ञा न प्राप्नोति; उप-देशग्रहणाद्भवति ।

(*Śata* and *sahasra* take *num* before *i*, the neuter nominative plural suffix by the *sūtra* *Napuṁsakasya jhalacaḥ* (7, 2, 72) and with the penultimate being lengthened take the forms *śatāni* and *sahasrāṇi*). As soon as *num* comes, they become *nakārānta* and hence have an opportunity to get the *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*. (The result will be the case-suffix *i* will have an opportunity to be dropped by the *sūtra* *Ṣaḍbhyō luk* (7, 1, 22). By reading the word *upadēśa*, it is avoided. (*Aṣṭan* becomes *aṣṭā* by the *sūtra* *Aṣṭana ā vibhaktāu* (7, 2, 84) before the

1. Here *upadēśa* stands for *uddēśa* elsewhere

Cf. प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागेन प्रतिपादनरूपं यद् गुणैः प्रापणं तद् उपदेशपदेनात्र गृह्यते । (*Uddyōta.*)

genetive case-suffix *ām*, which takes *nuḍāgama* by the *sūtra* *Ṣaṭcaturbhyaśca* (7, 1, 55) As soon as *aṣṭan* becomes *aṣṭā*, it has an opportunity to lose its *ṣaṭsaṁjñā* and (consequently *ām* will have no opportunity to take *nuḍāgama*). By reading the word *upadēśa*, it is avoided.

उक्तं वा

It has been said.

किमुक्तम् ?

What has been said ?

इह तावत् शतानि सहस्राणि इति 'सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य' इति ।

Firstly as regards the objection raised with reference to *śatāni* and *sahasrāṇi*, it has already been said that *sannipāta-lakṣaṇō vidhiḥ animittam tadvighātasya*. (*Śata* and *sahasra* become *nakārānta* on account of *i* and hence *nakārāntatva* will not bring out the loss of *i*.)

अष्टनोऽप्युक्तम्

It has been said even with reference to *aṣṭan*.

किमुक्तम् ?

What has been said ?

अष्टनो दीर्घग्रहणं षट्संज्ञाज्ञापकमाकारान्तस्य नुडर्थम् इति ।

The word *dīrghāt* in the *sūtra Aṣṭanō dīrghāt* (6, 1, 172) suggests that the *ākārānta* of *aṣṭan* takes the *ṣaṭsaṁjñā* and consequently the genetive case suffix *ām* takes *nuṭ*.

Note 1: The *sūtra Aṣṭanō dīrghāt* means the case-suffixes from *śas* after *ā* of *aṣṭan* become *udātta*. The word *dīrghāt* is intended to prevent the seventh case-suffix *su* from becoming *udātta*. If the *ākārānta*

of *aṣṭan* does not take *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*, *dīrghāt* is unnessary since the necessary accent in the seventh case may appear on the strength of the *sūtra Jhalyupōttamam* (6, 1, 180). Hence *dīrghāt* suggests that the *ākārānta* of *aṣṭan* also takes *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*.

Note 2: *Aṣṭanō dīrghagrahaṇam ṣaṭsaṁjñājñāpakam ākārāntasya nuḍartham* is a *vārttika* under the *sūtra Aṣṭanō dīrghāt*. Hence if *uktam vā* is a *vārttika*, it has to be taken that the past is used for the future. But in Chowkhamba edition it is only a *bhāṣyavākya*.

अथवा आकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते — षकारान्ता नकारान्ता आकारान्ता च सङ्ख्या षट्संज्ञा भवति इति ।

Or (it may be taken that) *ā* also is mentioned here, so that the *sūtra* means those numbers which end in *ṣ*, *n* and *ā* take *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*.

Note: Sri Guruprasādaśāstrī thinks that the *vārttika*, *Ākāranirdēśād vā* might have been omitted by the scribe. But the method of treatment seems to suggest that this is the opinion of *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति सधमादो द्युम्न एकास्ताः, एका इति ।

If so, the *saṁjñā* will reach the word *ēkā* found in the sentence *sadhamādōdyumna ēkāstāḥ*.

नैष दोषः । एकशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः । अस्त्येव संख्यापरः, तद्यथा, एको द्वौ बहव इति । अस्त्यसहायवाची, तद्यथा, एकाग्नयः, एकहलानि, एकाकिभिः क्षुद्रकैर्जितम् इति — असहायैरित्यर्थः । अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते, तद्यथा प्रजामेका रक्षत्यूर्जमेका इति — अन्येत्यर्थः । सधमादो द्युम्न एकास्ताः अन्या इत्यर्थः ; तद्योऽन्यार्थे वर्तते तस्यैष प्रयोगः ।

No, this objection does not arise. This word *ēka* has many meanings. It is a numeral in *ēkaḥ, dvāu, bahavaḥ* etc. It means one without a companion in *ēkāgnayaḥ, ēkahalāni, ēkākibhiḥ kṣudrakāir jitam, ēkākibhiḥ* meaning *asahāyāiḥ*. It

means *another* in *prajām ēkā rakṣati ūrjam ēkā*, *ēkā* meaning *anyā*. *Ēkāḥ* in *sadham ādō dyumna ēkāstāḥ* means *anyāḥ*. Hence this is a *prayōga* where the word *ēka* is used in the sense of *anya*.

इह तर्हि प्राप्नोति 'द्वाभ्यामिष्टये विंशत्या च' इति ।

If so *ṣaṭsaṁjñā* will reach *dvā* in the sentence, *dvābhyām iṣṭayē viṁśatyā ca*.

Note : In that case *ā* in *bhyām* will become *udātta* by the *sūtra ṣaṭcaturbhyō halādiḥ* (6, 1, 179.)

एवं तर्हि सप्तमे योगविभागः करिष्यते । अष्टाभ्य औश्; ततः षड्भ्यः, षड्भ्यश्च यदुक्तमष्टाभ्योऽपि तद्भवति; ततो लुक्, लुक् च भवति षड्भ्य इति ।

If so, the *sūtra* (*Ṣaḍbhyō luk* which follows *Aṣṭābhya āuś*) in the seventh chapter is split into two. *Ṣaḍbhyaḥ* is read as a separate *sūtra* after *Aṣṭābhya āuś* and it means whatever is said to *ṣaṭ* happens to *aṣṭan*. After it *Luk* is read as a separate *sūtra* and it means *luk* happens to *jas* and *śas* following *ṣaṭ*.

Note : The *yōgavibhāga* suggested here is not done in the seventh chapter under the *sūtra Ṣaḍbhyō luk*.

अथ वा उपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते — अष्टन आ विभक्तौ, ततो रायः — रायश्च विभक्तावाकारादेशो भवति, हलि इत्युभयोः शेषः ।

Or the *sūtra Rāyō hali* which is read after *Aṣṭana ā vibhaktāu* will be split into two later on thus: *Rāyaḥ* which means *rāi* takes *ākārādēśa* before case suffixes and then *Hali* which means that the *ātva* of *aṣṭan* and *rāi* takes place only before the case suffix commencing with a consonant.

Note : This *yōgavibhāga* too is not done in the seventh chapter.

यद्येवं प्रियाष्टौ प्रियाष्टाः इति न सिध्यति, प्रियाष्टानौ प्रियाष्टानः इति च प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the forms *priyāṣṭāu* and *priyāṣṭāḥ* cannot be achieved and *priyāṣṭānāu* and *priyāṣṭānaḥ* alone will take their place.

Note : The *ātva* which comes before the case-suffixes beginning with a consonant cannot come before *āu* and *jas* and *Aṣṭābhya āuś* will apply only when *aṣṭan* occupies a primary position and not when it occupies a subordinate position as in the compound *priyāṣṭan*.

यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ।

As regards a form which is not known to be definitely current and which is not prohibited by any *sūtra*, it should conform to the existing rules of grammar. Or rules of grammar are not concerned with the words which were not and are not current in the world.

Note: In the former interpretation *aprayukta* has to be taken to mean *viśiṣṭaprayōgābhāvavat* and in the latter *yathālakṣaṇam* has to be taken as *yathā-alakṣaṇam*, where *alakṣaṇam* means *lakṣaṇābhāvaḥ*. From what has been said above, it may be clear that, of all the devices suggested by *Mahābhāṣya-kāra* not to add *upadēśa* in the *sūtra*, that mentioned under *uktam vā* seems to be best.

डति च (1, 1, 24)

इदं डतिग्रहणं द्विः क्रियते, सङ्ख्यासंज्ञायां षट्संज्ञायां च । एकं शक्य-मकर्तुम् ।

This word *ḍati* is mentioned twice, one with reference to *saṅkhyāsaṁjñā* and another with reference to *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*. It is possible to dispense with either of the two.

कथम्? How?

यदि तावत्संख्यासंज्ञायां क्रियते षट्संज्ञायां न करिष्यते ।

If it is first read in the *sūtra* dealing with *saṅkhyāsaṁjñā*, it may not be read here with reference to *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*.

कथम् ?

How is the desired object achieved ?

'ष्णान्ता षट्' इत्यत्र डति इत्यनुवर्तिष्यते ।

The word *ḍti* is taken to the *sūtra* *Ṣaṇāntā ṣaṭ*.

Note : *Nāgēśabhuṭṭa* tells us that, in that case, the *sūtra* should be read as *Ṣṇāntā ca ṣaṭ* and *ca* should be made to suggest that there is *anuvṛtti* to *ḍati* alone.

अथ षट्संज्ञायां क्रियते संख्यासंज्ञायां न करिष्यते ।

Or if it is read here (i.e) in the *sūtra* enjoining *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*, it may not be read in the *sūtra* enjoining *saṅkhyāsaṁjñā*.

कथम् ?

How is the desired object to the achieved ?

'डति च' इत्यत्र संख्यासंज्ञाप्यनुवर्तिष्यते ।

The word *saṅkhyāsaṁjñā* too is taken over along with *ṣaṭsaṁjñā*.

Note: The difficulty here is how to know that there is *anuvṛtti* for *saṅkhyāsaṁjñā*, except that it is also a numeral.

क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा (1, 1, 25)

निष्ठासंज्ञायां समानशब्दप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of similar words with reference to *niṣṭhāsaṁjñā*.

निष्ठासंज्ञायां समानशब्दानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, लोतः, गर्तः इति ।

It is to be mentioned that *ta* in words like *lōtaḥ* (goat) and *gartaḥ* (pit) which is similar in form to *kta* is to be prohibited from taking the designation *niṣṭhā*.

निष्ठासंज्ञायां समानशब्दाप्रतिषेधः

Non-prohibition of similar words with reference to *niṣṭhā-saṁjñā*.

निष्ठासंज्ञायां समानशब्दानामप्रतिषेधः, अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधः अप्रतिषेधः ।

Pratiṣēdha of *samānaśabdas* with reference to *niṣṭhā-saṁjñā* is not necessary. *Apratiṣēdha* means *prohibition which serves no purpose.*

निष्ठासंज्ञा कस्मान्न भवति ?

Why will not *niṣṭhāsaṁjñā* reach them ?

अनुबन्धोऽन्यत्वकरः

Anubandha is the distinguishing mark.

अनुबन्धः क्रियते, सोऽन्यत्वं करिष्यति ।

Anubandha is attached to it and it distinguishes it from another.

अनुबन्धोऽन्यत्वकर इति चेन्न लोपात्

Anubandha cannot be the distinguishing mark on account of elision.

अनुबन्धोऽन्यत्वकर इति चेत्, तन्न ।

If it is said that *anubandha* serves as the distinguishing mark, it cannot be.

किं कारणम्? Why?

लोपात्; लुप्यतेऽत्र अनुबन्धः; लुप्ते चानुबन्धे नान्यत्वं भवति । तद्यथा— कतरद्देवदत्तस्य गृहम्? अदो यत्रासौ काक इति । उत्पतिते काके नष्टं तद्गृहं भवति । एवमिहापि लुप्तेऽनुबन्धे नष्टः प्रत्ययो भवति ।

On account of elision; *anubandha* is elided here; after the *anubandha* is elided, the word is not distinguished from another. This is illustrated thus:—Which is Dēvadatta's house? It is this where the crow is. After the crow is flown, it is not possible to distinguish his house from another. So also the words cannot be distinguished from others after the *anubandha* is elided.

यद्यपि लुप्यते, जानाति त्वसौ 'सानुबन्धकस्य संज्ञा कृता' इति। तद्यथा — इतरत्रापि, कतरद्देवदत्तस्य गृहम्? अदो यत्रासौ काकः इति, उत्पतिते काके यद्यपि नष्टं तद्गृहं भवति अन्ततस्तमुद्देशं जानाति इति।

Though the *anubandha* is elided, he knows that the *saṁjñā* was given which had *anubandha*. This too is true elsewhere. When one answers, that it is this where the crow is, to the question, which is Dēvadatta's house, he finally with some effort recognises the house even though the crow has flown and the house has no distinguishing mark.

सिद्धविपर्यासश्च यथान्यत्र

Certainty of doubt as elsewhere.

सिद्धश्च विपर्यासः। यद्यपि जानाति सन्देहस्तु तस्य भवति, अयं स तशब्दो लोतः गर्तः इति, अयं स तशब्दो लूनः गीर्णः इति। तद्यथा इतरत्रापि, कतरद्देवदत्तस्य गृहम्? अदो यत्रासौ काकः इति; उत्पतिते काके यद्यपि तमुद्देशं जानाति, सन्देहस्तु तस्य भवति, इदं तद्गृहं इदं तद्गृहम् इति।

Doubt is certain. Even though he is able to understand it, doubt arises in his mind whether the *ta* in *lōtaḥ* and *gartaḥ* is that *kta* or the *na* and *ṇa* in *lūnaḥ* and *gīrṇaḥ* is that *kta*. This is true elsewhere also:—When one answers, that it is this where the crow is, to the question, which is Dēvadatta's house, doubt arises in his mind whether this is his house or or another is his house, even though he finally decides it correctly.

कारककालविशेषात् सिद्धं यथान्यत्र

The object is achieved through the particular *kāraka* and the particular *kāla* (denoted by it), as elsewhere.

कारककालविशेषावुपादेयौ । भूते यस्तशब्दः कर्तरि कर्मणि भावे च इति । तद्यथा — इतरत्रापि य एप मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति, सोऽध्रुवेण निमित्तेन ध्रुवं निमित्तमुपादत्ते, वेदिकां पुण्डरीकं वा ।

Both a particular *kāraka* and a particular *kāla* must be denoted by it. The *ta* denotes past-tense and one of the three *kārakas kartṛ*, *karman* or *bhāva*. It is illustrated elsewhere too thus. He who is a man of foresight sees a permanent distinguishing mark—a raised platform or a lotus-like structure through the impermanent one.

एवमपि 'प्राकीर्ष्ट' इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

Even admitting what is said above, the doubt will arise in the form *prākīrṣṭa*.

लुङि सिजादिदर्शनात्

(No), on account of the presence of *sic* etc. in *luṅ*.

लुङि सिजादिदर्शनान्न भविष्यति ।

The doubt does not arise since *sic* etc is seen in the aorist.

यत्र तर्हि सिजादयो न दृश्यन्ते 'प्राभित्त' इति ?

What about the cases where *sijādis* are not seen ?

दृश्यन्तेऽत्रापि सिजादयः

Sijādis are seen even here.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is this to be said ?

न हि

It need not be said.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How is it to be understood if it is not said ?

यथैवायमनुपदिष्टान् कारककालविशेषानवगच्छति, एवमेतदप्यवगन्तुमर्हति यत्र सिजादयो न इति ।

As he understands the particular *kāla* and the particular *kāraka* though they are not mentioned, so also he understands here even without *sic*.

FIFTH ĀHNIKA ENDS

SIXTH ĀHNIKA

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि (1, 1, 26)

There are *five* topics dealt with here :—(1) What compound is *sarvādīni* ? (2) Distinction between *nipātana* and *pratiṣēdha* through the absence of *ṇatva* in *sarvanāmāni*. (3) The need or otherwise of *pratiṣēdha* of the words *sarva* etc. which serve as *saṁjñā* or which are *upasarjana*. (4) and (5) The purpose served by including the words *ubha* and *bhavat* in the *sarvādi* list.

I

सर्वादीनीति कोऽयं समासः ?

What compound is this—*sarvādīni ?*

बहुव्रीहिरित्याह

He says that it is *bahuvrīhi.*

कोऽस्य विग्रहः ?

What is its *vigraha* ?

सर्वशब्द आदिर्येषां तानि इमानि इति ।

Sarvaḥ ādiḥ yēṣām tāni imāni.

Note : The word *tāni* will do and the word *imāni* is unnecessary. It therefore suggests that *sarvādīni* is *tadguṇasaṁvijñānabahuvrīhi. Tadguṇasaṁvijñānam* means that which clearly tells us that the *viśēṣaṇas* also take part in the action denoted by the predicate of the *viśēṣya.*[1]

1. *Cf.* तद्गुणसंविज्ञानम् -- तस्य = अन्यपदार्थस्य, गुणाः = उपलक्षणानि, तेषामपि कार्ये संविज्ञानम् (*Pradīpa*) ; उपलक्षणानि = प्रकारतया अन्वयीनि (*Uddyōta*),

यद्येवं सर्वशब्दस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the word *sarva* cannot get the designation *sarva-nāma*.

किं कारणम् ?

Why ?

अन्यपदार्थत्वात् बहुव्रीहेः

Since the denotation of a *bahuvrīhi* is one other than those of the constituent elements.

बहुव्रीहिरयमन्यपदार्थे वर्तते, तेन यदन्यत्सर्वशब्दात् ।

तस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । तद्यथा, चित्रगुरानीयताम् इत्युक्ते यस्य ता गावो भवन्ति स आनीयते, न गावः ।

This-*bahuvrīhi* compound denotes *anyapadārtha* and hence all the words other than the word *sarva* gets the *sarvanāma-saṁjñā*. For instance if one says 'Let *citragu* be brought here', the person who has cows of variegated colours is brought and not the cows of that type.

नैष दोषः ; भवति हि बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि । तद्यथा, चित्रवाससमानय, लोहितोष्णीषा ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्ति इति तद्गुण आनीयते, तद्गुणाश्च प्रचरन्ति ।

This objection cannot stand, for there is also *tadguṇasaṁvijñāna* in *bahuvrīhi*. For instance if it is said, 'Bring him dressed in fine clothes', '*Ṛtviks* with red turban move on', the man in that dress is brought and the *ṛtviks* with red turban are moving.

II

इह सर्वनामानि इति 'पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः' इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति, तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

On the authority of the *sūtra Pūrvapadāt saṁjñāyām agaḥ* (8, 4, 3), there should be *ṇatva* in the word *sarvanāmāni* ;

but there is no *ṇatva* and hence *pratiṣēdha* to that rule has to be mentioned.

सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वाभावः

Absence of *ṇatva* in *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* on account of *nipātana*.

सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वं न भविष्यति ।

Ṇatva does not take place in the designation *sarvanāma*, since it is so read by *Ācārya*.

किमेतन्निपातनं नाम ?

What is meant by *nipātana* ? (i. e.) what purpose does *nipātana* serve ?

अथ कः प्रतिषेधो नाम ?

What, then, is meant by *pratiṣēdha* ?

अविशेषेण किञ्चिदुक्त्वा विशेषेण न इत्युच्यते, तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यते इदं न भवति इति ।

A general rule having been made, it is said that it does not take place in particular cases. In such cases it is learnt that the view of the *Ācārya* is that the general rule does not apply there.

निपातनमप्येवंजातीयकमेव । अविशेषेण णत्वमुक्त्वा विशेषेण निपातनं क्रियते, तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यते इदं न भवति इति ।

Nipātana too is of the same nature. The general rule about *ṇatva* having been made, one without *ṇatva* is read. There it is learnt that the view of the *Ācārya* is that the general rule does not apply here.

ननु च निपातनाच्चाणत्वं स्यात्, यथाप्राप्तं च णत्वम् ।

Oh, there may not be *ṇatva* in the place where there is *nipātana* and it cannot prevent the general rule with which *ṇatva* takes place.

Note : From this he means that the word where *Ācārya* has not made use of *ṇatva* need not be taken to be incorrect, but any other man who wishes to use the word may make use of *ṇatva* following the general rule.

किमन्येप्येवं विषयः ?

Are there other rules similar to this ?

भवन्ति ।

There are.

इह — इको यणचि इति वचनाच्च यण् स्यात् , यथाप्राप्तश्च इक् श्रूयेत ।

Here with reference the *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci, yaṇ* may take the place of *ik* by the *sūtra* or *ik* may stand by itself without undergoing change.

नैष दोषः । अस्त्यत्र विशेषः ; षष्ठ्या अत्र निर्देशः क्रियते, षष्ठी च पुनः स्थानिनं निवर्तयति ।

This argument cannot stand ; for there is a peculiarity here; the relationship is mentioned through the sixth case suffix and it makes the *sthānin* disappear.

इह तर्हि, कर्तरि शप् , दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् इति, वचनाच्च श्यन् स्यात्, यथाप्राप्तश्च शप् श्रूयेत ।

Here then with reference to the *sūtras Kartari śap* (3, 1, 68) and *Divādibhyaḥ śyan* (3, 1, 69), *divādi* takes *śyan* on account of the *sūtra Divādibhyaḥ śyan* and also *śap* which may come from the *sūtra Kartari śap*.

Note : The difference between this and the previous case is that *ṣaṣṭhī* is found there to make the *sthānin* disappear and it is not found here.

नैष दोषः; शवादेशाः श्यन्नादयः करिष्यन्ते ।

This difficulty does not arise; *śyan* etc. are taken as the *ādēśas* of *śap*.

तर्हि शपो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ।

If so, the word *śapaḥ* is to be read.

न कर्तव्यम्; प्रकृतमनुवर्तते ।

No, it need not be read; the word *śap* which is near at hand is taken over here.

क्व प्रकृतम्?

Which is near at hand?

कर्तरि शप् इति ।

Śap in the (previous) *sūtra Kartari śap*.

तद्वै प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टेन चेहार्थः ।

It is in the first case and we have here to do with the sixth case.

दिवादिभ्यः इत्येषा पञ्चमी शबिति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयिष्यति तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति ।

The fifth case in the word *divādibhyaḥ* enables *śap* in the first case to be changed to the sixth case on the strength of the *paribhāṣā Tasmād ityuttarasya*.

प्रत्ययविधिरयं, न प्रत्ययविधौ पञ्चम्यः प्रकल्पिका भवन्ति ।

This is a rule dealing with *pratyayas* and here the fifth case cannot enable the first case to be changed to the sixth case.

नायं प्रत्ययविधिः; विहितः प्रत्ययः; प्रकृतश्चानुवर्तते ।

This is not a *pratyayavidhi*; the *pratyaya* has been enjoined (by the previous *sūtra*); the word near at hand is taken over here.

इह तर्हि अव्ययसर्वनाम्नामकच् प्राक् टेः इति वचनाच्च अकच् स्यात्, यथाप्राप्तश्च कः श्रूयेत ।

Here then the *pratyaya akac* makes its appearance by the *sūtra Avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭēḥ* (5, 3, 71) and also *ka* may appear by the *sūtra Prāgivāt kaḥ* (5, 3, 70).

नैष दोषः ; नाप्राप्ते हि केऽकजारभ्यते, स बाधको भविष्यति ।

No, this difficulty does not arise; since *akac* is not enjoined in place where *ka* does appear, it becomes *bādhaka* to it.

निपातनमप्येवंजातीयकमेव ; नाप्राप्ते णत्वे निपातनमारभ्यते, तद्बाधकं भविष्यति ।

Nipātana too is of the same nature; since *nipātana* is made where *ṇatva* has a definite chance to appear, it becomes its *bādhaka*.

यदि तर्हि निपातनान्यप्येवंजातीयकानि भवन्ति, समस्तते दोषो भवति । इह अन्ये वैयाकरणाः विभाषामलोपमारभन्ते 'समो हिततयोर्वा' इति — सततं सन्ततं, सहितं संहितम् इति । इह पुनर्भवान् निपातनाच्च लोपमिच्छति 'अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये इति, यथाप्राप्तं चालोपं सन्ततम् इति । एतन्न सिध्यति ।

If then *nipātanas* are of this nature, there will be difficulty with reference to (the preposition) *sam* when followed by *tata*. Other grammarians have read the *sūtra Samō hitatatayōr vā*, by which there is optional absence of *lōpa* of *m* of *sam* before *tata* — *satatam, santatam, sahitam, saṁhitam.* But, on the other hand, you wish to have the *lōpa* of *m* by the *nipātana sātatya* in the *sūtra Aparasparāḥ kriyāsātatyē* (6, 1, 144). The non-elision in *santatam* may not be accomplished.

कर्तव्योऽत्र यत्नः ।

Attempt should be made in this respect,

Note : *Kāiyaṭa* says that the forms *santata* and *satata* should be achieved on the strength of the verse

लुम्पेद्वश्यमः कृत्ये तुम् काममनसोरपि ।
समो वा हिततयोर्मांसस्य पचि युड्घञोः ॥

बाधकान्येव हि निपातनानि भवन्ति ।

Since *nipātanas* are evidently *bādhakas.*

Note : The discussion on the above two topics is *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* own.

III

संज्ञोपसर्जनप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *sarvādi* which are *saṁjñā* or *upasarjana.*

संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानां सर्वादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्, तस्मै सर्वाय देहि ; अतिसर्वाय देहि ।

Prohibition has to be made that the words found in the list of *sarvādi* do not take *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* if they happen to be names of persons or things or if they happen to occupy a secondary position as a member of certain compound words. *Sarva* is the name of a man ; *tasmāi Sarvāya dēhi* ; *atisarvāya dēhi.*

Note 1 : The *cvi* in *saṁjñōpasarjanībhūtānām* suggests that originally they were not *saṁjñās* and the *upasarjanatva* also is only *ārōpita.*[1]

1. *Cf.* गणपठितेभ्यः संज्ञोपसर्जनानां भेदात् संज्ञाया अप्राप्तौ प्रतिषेधानर्थक्यमिति शङ्काव्युदासाय भाष्ये च्विरुपात्त इति भावः । तत्तत्पदत्वारोपवत् तदर्थे उपसर्जनत्वमपि आरोपितमिति च्वेरुपपत्तिरिति तात्पर्यम् (*Uddyōta.*)

Note 2: If *Sarva* is the name of a person, the fourth-case singular form is *Sarvāya* and not *Sarvasmāi*; similarly the fourth-case singular form of *atisarva* (one who excelled all) is *atisarvāya* and not *atisarvasmāi*.

स कथं कर्तव्यः ?

How is it to be done ?

पाठात्पर्युदासः, पठितानां संज्ञाकरणम्

The list excludes others and giving of *saṁjñā* to those that are in the list.

पाठादेव पर्युदासः कर्तव्यः । शुद्धानां पठितानां संज्ञा कर्तव्या । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति, संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानि न सर्वादीनि ।

Exclusion has to be done to those that are not read in the list. *Saṁjñā* is to be given to those that are clearly read in the list. The words commencing with *sarva* take the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* and not those which are names of objects or which are *upasarjana* in their nature.

किमविशेषेण ?

Does this hold good only when *sarvanāmakārya* is enjoined to all *sarvādis* ?

नेत्याह ; विशेषेण च ।

No, says he ; it holds good even when *sarvanāmakārya* is enjoined to some of them.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What for should it be taken so ?

सर्वाद्यानन्तर्यकार्यार्थम्

For the sake of *kārya* enjoined to those that are after *sarva*.

सर्वादीनामानन्तर्येण यदुच्यते कार्यं तदपि संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानां मा भूत् इति ।

So that the *kārya* enjoined to those that are read after *sarva* in the list may not apply to them if they are *saṁjñā* or *upasarjana*.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

Where does this apply?

प्रयोजनं डतरादीनामद्ड्भावे

The application is where *ḍatarādis* take *adḍbhāva*.

डतरादीनामद्ड्भावे प्रयोजनम्; अतिक्रान्तमिदं ब्राह्मणकुलं कतरत् — अतिकतरं ब्राह्मणकुलम् ।

The application is where the *sūtra Adḍ ḍatarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ* (7, 1, 25) operates so that *katara* etc. become *katarat*. If the same is *upasarjana* as in *ati-kataram* in the sentence *ati-kataram brāhmaṇakulam* where *atikataram* is split as *atikrāntam katarat*, the *sūtra* does not operate.

त्यदादिविधौ च

In *tyadādividhi* too.

त्यदादिविधौ च प्रयोजनम्; अतिक्रान्तोऽयं ब्राह्मणस्तं, अतितद्ब्राह्मणः ।

The application is also where the *sūtra Tyadādīnām aḥ* (7, 2, 102) operates, so that *atikrāntaḥ ayam brāhmaṇaḥ tam* becomes *atitadbrāhmaṇaḥ* and not *atisaḥ brāhmaṇaḥ*.

संज्ञाप्रतिषेधस्तावन्न वक्तव्यः । उपरिष्टाद् योगविभागः करिष्यते — पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायाम्, ततः असंज्ञायाम् इति । सर्वादीनीत्येवं यान्यनुक्रान्तानि असंज्ञायां तानि द्रष्टव्यानि ।

Firstly *saṁjñāpratiṣēdha* need not be mentioned; for in the *gaṇasūtra Pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇōttarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṁjñāyām* is going to be split as a separate one so that it

may be interpreted that the words read in the list *sarvādi* refer only to those that are not *saṁjñās*.

उपसर्जनप्रतिषेधश्च न कर्तव्यः । अनुपसर्जनात् इत्येष योगः प्रत्याख्यायते, तमेवम् अभिसंभन्त्स्यामः — अनुपसर्जन - अ - अत् इति ।

Upasarjanapratiṣēdha too need not be mentioned. The *sūtra Anupasarjanāt* (4, 1, 14) is going to be certified unnecessary. We shall explain that *sūtra* thus: *Anupasarjana-a-at*

Note : The *sūtra Anupasarjanāt* is stated to be unnecessary by the *Vārttikakāra* in the *vārttika Anupasarjanagrahaṇam anarthakam prātipadikēna tadantavidhipratiṣēdhāt.* But *Mahābhāṣyakāra,* under the *sūtra,* feels the necessity of the *sūtra,* since otherwise the form *kāumbhakārēya* cannot be got. Here we have to take that he proceeds on the basis of the *Vārttikakāra*'s view.

किमिदम् अ–अत् इति ?

What is meant by *a-at* ?

अकारात्कारौ शिष्यमाणौ अनुपसर्जनस्य द्रष्टव्यौ ।

The *akāra* and *atkāra* that are enjoined are with reference to those that are *anupasarjana*.

Note : *Anupasarjana* is the sixth-case with the case-suffix dropped. *Akāra* is enjoined by *Tyadādīnām aḥ* and *atkāra* is enjoined by *aḍḍ ḍatarādibhyaḥ*.

यद्येवम् अतियुष्मत् अत्यस्मत् इति न सिध्यति ।

If so, the forms *atiyuṣmat* and *atyasmat* cannot be got [since *yuṣmad* and *asmad* being *upasarjana* here, the *sūtra Pañcamyā at* (7, 1, 31) cannot operate].

प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् — अनुपसर्जन - अ - अ - अत् इति अकारान्तात् अकारात्कारौ शिष्यमाणौ अनुपसर्जनस्य द्रष्टव्यौ ।

This *sūtra* should be split thus: *anupasarjana-a-at* so that it may mean that the *a* and *at* enjoined after *a* is with reference to *anupasarjana*.

Note 1: Here the first *a* is in the fifth case with the case-suffix dropped. The next *a* and *at* may become *āt* (*samāhāradvandva*).

Note 2: *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* refuting *Vārttikakāra's* opinion of *saṁjñōpasarjanapratiṣēdha* is defective, because he bases his argument on a different interpretation which he gives to the *sūtra* *Anupasarjanāt,* though he wants it in its original sense to achieve the form *kāumbhakārēya*.

अथवा अङ्गाधिकारे यदुच्यते, गृह्यमाणविभक्तेस्तद्भवति ।

Or that which is enjoined in the *aṅgādhikāra,* operates to the suffix which fittingly follows the stem mentioned.

यद्येवं परमपञ्च परमसप्त, षड्भ्यो लुक् इति लुक् न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the case-suffixes *jas* and *śas* cannot drop after *paramapañca* and *paramasapta* by the *sūtra* *Ṣaḍbhyō luk*.

Note: The objector means that only *pañcan* and *saptan* come under *saṁjñā* and not *paramapañcan* and *paramasaptan*.

नैष दोषः, षट्प्रधान एष समासः ।

This objection cannot stand, since the important member in the compounds is only *ṣaṭ* (i.e.) *pañcan* and *saptan*.

इह तर्हि प्रियसंक्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन, अनङ् न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, [(i.e.) *yad aṅgādhikārē ucyatē tad gṛhyamāṇavibhaktēḥ bhavati*], *anaṅ* cannot appear in *sakthi* in the *bahuvrīhi* compound *priyasakthnā* (*brāhmaṇēna*), since the word *sakthi* alone is read in the *sūtra* *Asthi-dadhi-sakthi-akṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ* (7, 1, 75).

सप्तमीनिर्दिष्टे यदुच्यते प्रकृतविभक्तौ तद्भवति ।

That which is enjoined on account of something that follows may operate everywhere.

Note: The *anaṅ* takes place only when *sakthi* is followed by a case-suffix beginning with a vowel other than those of the first two cases.

यद्येवं अतितत् अतितदौ अतितदः इति, अत्वं प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the *atva* which is enjoined by the *sūtra Tyadādīnām aḥ* when *tyadādi* is followed by a case-suffix) will operate in the forms *atitat, atitadāu* and *atitadaḥ.*

तत्रापि वक्तव्यम् ।

Then it deserves mention that it does not operate there.

न वक्तव्यम् । इह तावत्, अद्ड् डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः इति पञ्चमी, अङ्गस्य इति षष्ठी, तत्राशक्यं भिन्नविभक्तित्वात्[1] डतरादिभ्य इति पञ्चम्या अङ्गं विशेषयितुम् । तत्र किमन्यत् शक्यं विशेषयितुमन्यदतो विहितात्प्रत्ययात्, डतरादिभ्यो यो विहित इति । इहेदानीम् अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्तः इति, त्यदादीनामो भवति इति, अस्थ्यादीनामित्येषा षष्ठी, अङ्गस्य इत्यपि, त्यदादीनामित्यपि षष्ठी, अङ्गस्य इत्यपि । तत्र कामचारः, गृह्यमाणेन वा विभक्तिं विशेषयितुम् अङ्गेन वा ; यावता कामचारः, इह तावत् अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्तः इति अङ्गेन विभक्तिं विशेषयिष्यामः अस्थ्यादीनामिति ; इहेदानीं त्यदादीनामो भवति इति, गृह्यमाणेन विभक्तिं विशेषयिष्यामः, अङ्गेन अकारं, त्यदादीनां विभक्तौ ओ भवति अङ्गस्य इति ।

It need not be mentioned. Firstly here is the fifth-case in *ḍatarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ* and there is the sixth-case in *aṅgasya* and since they are of different cases, it is impossible to take *ḍatarādibhyaḥ* as the adjunct of *aṅgasya.* Hence which is possible to be qualified by *ḍatarādibhyaḥ* other than the

1. विविभक्तित्वात् is another reading.

suffix enjoined after it? But, on the other hand, with reference to the *sūtras Asthi-dadhi-sakthyakṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ* and *Tyadādīnām aḥ*, there is the sixth-case both in *asthyādīnām* and *aṅgasya* and both in *tyadādīnām* and *aṅgasya*. There we are at liberty to make *asthyādi* or *tyadādi* which are mentioned or the *aṅga* to qualify the case-suffix. Since there is *kāmacāra*, we shall, in the *sūtra Asthi-dadhi-sakthyakṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ* first, make *aṅga* qualify *vibhakti* and *asthyādi* qualify *anaṅ*, so that the *sūtra* means, when the *aṅga* is followed by *vibhakti*, *asthyādi* takes *anaṅ* and we shall, in the *sūtra Tyadādīnām aḥ*, make *tyadādi* qualify *vibhakti* and *aṅga* qualify *akāra*, so that the *sūtra*, means that, when *tyadādi* is followed by *vibhakti*, *aṅga* takes *akāra*.

यद्येवम् अतिसः, अत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, *atva* may not be found in *atisaḥ*.

नैष दोषः, त्यदादिप्रधान एष समासः ।

No, there is no possibility for this defect, since *tyadādi* is the important member in the compound.

Note: Considering the difficulty experienced under the argument *aṅgādhikārē yad ucyatē, gṛhyamāṇavibhaktēs tad bhavati*, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* resorts to another line of argument.

अथवा नेदं संज्ञाकरणं, पाठविशेषणमिदम्, सर्वेषां यानि नामानि तानि सर्वादीनि; संज्ञोपसर्जने च विशेषेऽवतिष्ठेते ।

Or this — *sarvanāmāni* — is not a *saṁjñā*, but it is the adjunct to *sarvādīni* which is read (in the *gaṇapāṭha*) and hence the *sūtra* means *sarvādīni* refers to those names which are applied to all and such as are *saṁjñā* or *upasarjana* refer only to particular objects.

यद्येवं संज्ञाश्रयं यत्कार्यं तन्न सिध्यति, सर्वनाम्नः स्मै, आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् इति ।

If so, the *kārya* which is enjoined to those that have got *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* as *smāi* and *suṭ* enjoined in the *sūtras* *Sarvanāmnaḥ smāi* and *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ* may not take place.

अन्वर्थग्रहणं तत्र विज्ञास्यते, सर्वेषां यन्नाम तत् सर्वनाम; सर्वनाम्न ङेः स्मै भवति, सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य आमः सुट् भवति ।

The word *sarvanāman* there is taken in the sense *that which is the name of all* so that it may be true to its sense and hence the two *sūtras* are interpreted thus: *Smāi* takes the place of *ṅē* which follows *sarvanāman* and *ām* after *sarvanāman* takes the *āgama suṭ*.

यद्येवं, सकलं, कृत्स्नं, जगत् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । एतेषां चापि शब्दानामेकैकस्य स स विषयः, तस्मिंस्तस्मिन् विषये यो यः शब्दो वर्तते, तस्य तस्य तस्मिंस्तस्मिन् वर्तमानस्य सर्वनामकार्यं प्राप्नोति ।

If so, they will operate even with reference to the words *sakalam, kṛtsnam* and *jagat*. Each of these *śabdas* has for its denotation *all* and hence when each is used, it may get the *sarvanāmakārya*.

एवं तर्हि उभयमनेन क्रियते; पाठश्चैव विशेष्यते, संज्ञा च ।

If so, both are attained by this — *sarvanāmāni* ; — it qualifies *sarvādīni* and serves as *saṁjñā* too.

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम् ?

How is it possible to achieve two ends with one means ?

लभ्यमित्याह

It can be achieved, he says.

कथम्? How?

एकशेषनिर्देशात् । एकशेषनिर्देशोऽयम्; सर्वादीनि च सर्वादीनि च सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि च सर्वनामानि च सर्वनामानि; सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति; सर्वेषां यानि च नामानि तानि सर्वादीनि । संज्ञोपसर्जने च विशेषे अवतिष्ठते ।

By taking them as *ēkaśēṣa*. This *sūtra* contains words which are *ēkaśēṣasamāsas*; *sarvādīni* is split as *sarvādīni ca sarvādīni ca* and *sarvanāmāni* as *sarvanāmāni ca sarvanāmāni ca*. (Hence the *sūtra* means) that *sarvādi* takes *sarvanāma-saṁjñā* and *sarvādīni* are those that serve as the name for all. *Saṁjñā* and *upasarjana* denote only individual objects.

Note : Which determines that *sarvādīni* and *sarvanāmāni* are *ēkaśēṣas* is not clear. Hence *Mahābhāṣyakāra* takes recourse to another line of argument.

अथवा, महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते ; संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः ।

Or a long *saṁjñā* is given here and *saṁjñā* is always in a form than which nothing is shorter ?

कुत एतत् ?

What is the source for saying so ?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्

For, giving *saṁjñā* is only for ease of *śāstrapravṛtti*.

तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम्, अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत ; सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति, सर्वेषां नामानीति चातः सर्वनामानि ; संज्ञोपसर्जने च विशेषेऽवतिष्ठेते ।

The benefit of giving a long *saṁjñā* there is that it should be taken to be *anvartha*; *sarvādīni* take the *sarvanāma-saṁjñā* and they are so called since they are used to denote all objects ; *saṁjñā* and *upasarjana* refer only to individuals.

Note : *Vārttikakāra's* view is that there is the necessity for the mention of *saṁjñōpasarjanapratiṣēdha*. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* achieves that purpose by taking the *saṁjñā sarvanāma* to be *anvartha*.

IV

अथोभस्य सर्वनामत्वे कोऽर्थः ?

What is the purpose served by allowing *ubha* take the *saṁjñā sarvanāma* ?

उभस्य सर्वनामत्वेऽकजर्थः

Ubha's taking *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* is for the sake of *akac.*

उभस्य सर्वनामत्वेऽकजर्थः पाठः क्रियते, उभकौ ।

The word *ubha* is included in the list with reference to the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* for the sake of *akac,* so that the form *ubhakāu* is achieved.

किमुच्यते अकजर्थ इति, न पुनरन्यान्यपि सर्वनामकार्याणि ?

Why is it that *akac* alone is said and not other *sarvanāma-kāryas* ?

अन्याभावः द्विवचनटाब्विषयत्वात्

Absence of others since it takes the dual suffix or *ṭāp* after it.

अन्येषां सर्वनामकार्याणामभावः

There is the absence of other *sarvanāmakāryas.*

किं कारणम् ?

Why ?

द्विवचनटाब्विषयत्वात्; उभशब्दोऽयं द्विवचनटाब्विषयः; अन्यानि च सर्वनामकार्याण्येकवचनबहुवचनेषूच्यन्ते ।

Since it takes only the dual suffix and *ṭāp* after it; this word *ubha* takes only the dual suffix and *ṭāp* after it. All the other *sarvanāmakāryas* have reference only to singular and plural.

Note: Since *ṭābviṣayaḥ* has to be taken in the sense of *ṭāp-sahitadvivacanaviṣayaḥ, Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says *ṭāb-grahaṇam anuvādamātram nāpūrvam iti tātparyam.*

यदा पुनरयमुभशब्दो द्विवचनटाब्विषयः, क इदानीमस्यान्यत्र भवति ?

If this *ubha* is used only when it is followed by dual suffix or *ṭāp*, what form takes its place elsewhere ?

उभयोऽन्यत्र

Ubhaya elsewhere.

उभयशब्दोऽस्यान्यत्र भवति — उभये देवमनुष्याः, उभयो मणिः इति ।

The word *ubhaya* is used in its place elsewhere—*viz. ubhayē dēvamanuṣyāḥ* (both the classes of *dēvas* and *manuṣyas*), *ubhayō maṇiḥ* (*maṇi* of two kinds).

किं च स्याद् यद्यत्र अकज् न स्यात् ?

What happens if *akac* does not come here ?

कः प्रसज्येत ।

The suffix *ka* will have an opportunity to come.

कश्चेदानीं काकचोर्विशेषः ?

What, then, is the difference between *ka* and *akac*.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* says that there is no difference either in the *form* of the word or in its *accent*.

उभशब्दोऽयं द्विवचनटाब्विषय इत्युक्तम् । तत्राकचि सति अकचस्तन्मध्यपतितत्वात् शक्यते एतद्वक्तुं द्विवचनपरोऽयम् इति । के पुनः सति, नायं द्विवचनपरः स्यात्; तत्र द्विवचनपरता वक्तव्या ।

It is said that this word *ubha* is *dvivacanaṭābviṣaya*. If it is made to take *akac-pratyaya*, *ubha* may be considered to have *dvivacana* follow it, since *akac* is an infix. If, on the other hand, it is made to take *ka-pratyaya*, it cannot be considered that the *dvivacana* follows it; it has, then, to be mentioned that it should be deemed to have *dvivacana* follow it.

Note: When *ubha* takes *akac*, it is inserted before the final syllable by the *sūtra Avyaya-sarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭēḥ* (5, 3, 71) thus: *ubh* + *ak* + *a* and hence *ak* may be considered to be between the parts of the word *ubha*.

यथैव तर्हि के सति नायं द्विवचनपरः, एवमाप्यपि सति नायं द्विवचनपरः स्यात्; तत्रापि द्विवचनपरता वक्तव्या ।

Just as this does not have *dvivacana* after it, if it is taken to have *ka-pratyaya* after it, so also it cannot have *dvivacana* after it, if it is followed by *ṭāp*; it has to be mentioned, there too, that it should be deemed to have *dvivacana* after it.

अवचनादाऽपि तत्परविज्ञानम्;[1] अन्तरेणापि वचनमापि द्विवचनपरोऽयं भविष्यति ।

It is understood to have *dvivacana* follow it even without mention, when it is followed by *ṭāp*; even without any statement it eventually has *dvivacana* after it.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is it to be stated?

Note: All the existing editions seem to have the reading *kim vaktavyam ētat*. The same reading alone seems to have been found by *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa*. He was not satisfied with it and has hence stated *bhramamūlakō vā praśnaḥ*. But it seems to me that *na* was left out by the scribe.

न हि ।

It need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How can it be so understood if it is not mentioned?

एकादेशे कृते द्विवचनपरोऽयमन्तादिवद्भावेन ।

After the final *a* of *ubha* and *ā* are replaced by *ā*, it is considered to have *dvivacana* follow it by *antādivadbhāva*.

1. This is considered to be a *vārttika* by some.

He is going to mention the prohibitive *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu* and it is not possible to know from it where there is *vibhāṣā* and where *pratiṣēdha*. If the word *dik* is read here, the difficulty is solved and it is understood that there is *vibhāṣā* if one member of the compound is a word denoting direction and that there is *pratiṣēdha* in other cases.

II

अथ समासग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is, then, the mention of the word *samāsa*?

समास एव यो बहुव्रीहिः तत्र यथा स्याद्, बहुव्रीहिवद्भावेन यो बहुव्रीहिः तत्र मा भूत् इति — दक्षिणदक्षिणस्यै देहि इति ।

So that the *vibhāṣā* takes place only where there is actual *bahuvrīhi-samāsa* and not where one is considered like a *bahuvrīhi* as in the word *dakṣiṇa-dakṣiṇasyāi*[1] in *dakṣiṇa-dakṣiṇasyāi dēhi*.

III

अथ बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What for is then the mention of *bahuvrīhi ?*

द्वन्द्वे मा भूत् — दक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् इति ।

So that the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* may not operate in *dvandva* compound viz. *dakṣiṇōttarapūrvāṇām*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, द्वन्द्वे च इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति ।

No, this is not the benefit, since the *pratiṣēdha* results from the *sūtra Dvandvē ca*.

नाप्राप्ते प्रतिषेधे इयं विभाषा आरभ्यते; सा यथैव न बहुव्रीहौ इत्येतं प्रतिषेधं बाधते, एवं द्वन्द्वे च इत्येतमपि बाधेत ।

1. This form is based on the *sūtra Ābādhē ca* (8, 1, 10) whose *vṛtti* is *pīḍāyām dyōtyāyām dvē staḥ, bahuvrīhivacca*.

There is mention of this *vibhāṣā* when *pratiṣēdha* has a definite chance to operate. Just as it affects the *pratiṣēdha* enjoined by the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu*, so also it affects the *pratiṣēdha* enjoined by the *sūtra Dvandvē ca*.

न बाधते ।

No, it does not affect it.

किं कारणम्? Why?

येन नाप्राप्ते तस्य बाधनं भवति । न चाप्राप्ते न बहुव्रीहौ इत्येदस्मिन् प्रतिषेधे इयं विभाषा आरभ्यते; द्वन्द्वे च इत्येतस्मिन् पुनः प्राप्ते चाप्राप्ते च ।

It affects that which invariably operates This *vibhāṣā* is read when *Na bahuvrīhāu* operates completely; but, on the other hand, *Dvandvē ca* does not operate completely.

Note : The *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu* has for its range of operation the entire *bahuvrīhi* compound; but *Dvandvē ca* does not have for its range of operation the entire *dvandva* compound, since there is *vikalpa* by the *sūtra Vibhāṣā jasi*.

अथ वा पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् इत्येवमियं विभाषा 'न बहुव्रीहौ' इत्येतं प्रतिषेधं बाधिष्यते, द्वन्द्वे च इत्येतं प्रतिषेधं न बाधिष्यते ।

Or the preceding *apavādas* affect those which immediately succeed them and not those after them. Hence this *vibhāṣā* affects only the *pratiṣēdha* in the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu* and not in the *sūtra Dvandvē ca*.

अथ वा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः, इह कस्मान्न भवति — या पूर्वा सा उत्तरा अस्य उन्मुग्धस्य सोऽयं पूर्वोत्तर उन्मुग्धः तस्मै — पूर्वोत्तराय देहि इति ।

Or he is to be questioned why the *vibhāṣā* does not operate in the form *pūrvōttarāya* in the expression *pūrvōttarāya dēhi*, where *pūrvōttara* means one who thinks *uttarā* as *pūrvā* on account of some derangement in brain and is split thus *pūrvā uttarā yasya saḥ*.

अवचनादापि तत्परविज्ञानमिति चेत्केऽपि तुल्यम्[1] । अवचनादापि तत्परविज्ञानमिति चेत् केऽपि अन्तरेण वचनं द्विवचनपरो भविष्यति ।

If it is said that it is known to be followed by *dvivacana* even though *ṭāp* intercedes, it is the same when *ka* intercedes. If it is known that it is followed by *dvivacana* even when *ṭāp* intercedes, it evidently follows that it is followed by *dvivacana* even when *ka* intercedes.

Note : On considering the statement in the *Prāuḍhamanōramā* "*Bhāṣyē pratyākhyānam prāuḍhivādamātram*", it seems that the statement *avacanādāpi tatparavijñānam iti cēt kēpi tulyam* is *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* own and not *Vārttikakāra's*. It is not easy to understand how even those who consider the statement *avacanād āpi tatparavijñānam* as *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* have taken this to be a *vārttika*.

कथम् ? How ?

स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतितोऽविशिष्टा भवन्ति इति प्रकृतिग्रहणेन स्वार्थिकानामपि ग्रहणं भवति ।

On the basis of the dictum that the affixes used in *svārtha* have no sense other than that of the stem, they are taken as part of the stem.

Note : From this it is clear that, according to *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, *ubha* need not be read in *sarvādi* list.

V

अथ भवतः सर्वनामत्वे कानि प्रयोजनानि ?

What are the benefits accrued by considering *bhavat* as *sarvanāma* ?

1. This is considered to be a *vārttika* by many.

भवतोऽकच्छेषात्वानि

Bhavat takes *akac*, remains as *śēṣa* and takes *ātva*.

भवतोऽकच्छेषात्वानि प्रयोजनानि । अकच् — भवकान्; शेषः — स च भवांश्च, भवन्तौ; आत्वम् — भवादृक् इति ।

The merits from taking *bhavat* under *sarvādi* are *akac*, *śēṣa* and *ātva*. *Akac—bhavakān*;[1] *śēṣaḥ—sa ca bhavāṁśca, bhavantāu*;[2] *ātvam—bhavādṛk*.

किं पुनरिदं परिगणनमाहो स्विदुदाहरणमात्रम् ?

Is this list exhaustive or capable of including others also ?

उदाहरणमात्रमित्याह । तृतीयादयोऽपि हि इष्यन्ते, सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च — भवता हेतुना, भवतो हेतोः इति ।

Not an exhaustive list, says he. The third case also is allowed in addition to the sixth-case on the strength of the *sūtra Sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā ca* (2, 3, 27) so that we may have *bhavatā hētunā* and *bhavatō hētōḥ* (in the sense of *on account of you*).

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ (1, 1, 27)

The need for the mention of *dik*, *samāsa* and *bahuvrīhāu* is dealt with here.

I

दिग्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is the need for the mention of the word *dik* (here) ?

'न बहुव्रीहौ' इति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति, तत्र न ज्ञायते क्व विभाषा, क्व प्रतिषेधः इति । दिग्ग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति दिगुपदिष्टे विभाषा अन्यत्र प्रतिषेधः ।

1. *Cf. Avyaya-sarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭēḥ* (5, 3, 71)
2. *Cf. Tyadādīni sarvāir nityam* (1, 2, 72)

He is going to mention the prohibitive *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu* and it is not possible to know from it where there is *vibhāṣā* and where *pratiṣēdha*. If the word *dik* is read here, the difficulty is solved and it is understood that there is *vibhāṣā* if one member of the compound is a word denoting direction and that there is *pratiṣēdha* in other cases.

II

अथ समासग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is, then, the mention of the word *samāsa*?

समास एव यो बहुव्रीहिः तत्र यथा स्याद्, बहुव्रीहिवद्भावेन यो बहुव्रीहिः तत्र मा भूत् इति — दक्षिणदक्षिणस्यै देहि इति ।

So that the *vibhāṣā* takes place only where there is actual *bahuvrīhi-samāsa* and not where one is considered like a *bahuvrīhi* as in the word *dakṣiṇa-dakṣiṇasyāi* [1] in *dakṣiṇa-dakṣiṇasyāi dēhi*.

III

अथ बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What for is then the mention of *bahuvrīhi ?*

द्वन्द्वे मा भूत् — दक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् इति ।

So that the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* may not operate in *dvandva* compound viz. *dakṣiṇōttarapūrvāṇām*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, द्वन्द्वे च इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति ।

No, this is not the benefit, since the *pratiṣēdha* results from the *sūtra Dvandvē ca*.

नाप्राप्ते प्रतिषेधे इयं विभाषा आरभ्यते ; सा यथैव न बहुव्रीहौ इत्येतं प्रतिषेधं बाधते, एवं द्वन्द्वे च इत्येतमपि बाधेत ।

1. This form is based on the *sūtra Ābādhē ca* (8, 1, 10) whose *vṛtti* is *pīḍāyām dyōtyāyām dvē staḥ, bahuvrīhivacca.*

There is mention of this *vibhāṣā* when *pratiṣēdha* has a definite chance to operate. Just as it affects the *pratiṣēdha* enjoined by the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu,* so also it affects the *pratiṣēdha* enjoined by the *sūtra Dvandvē ca.*

न बाधते ।

No, it does not affect it.

किं कारणम्? Why?

येन नाप्राप्ते तस्य बाधनं भवति । न चाप्राप्ते न बहुव्रीहौ इत्येतस्मिन् प्रतिषेधे इयं विभाषा आरभ्यते; द्वन्द्वे च इत्येतस्मिन् पुनः प्राप्ते चाप्राप्ते च ।

It affects that which invariably operates This *vibhāṣā* is read when *Na bahuvrīhāu* operates completely; but, on the other hand, *Dvandvē ca* does not operate completely.

Note: The *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu* has for its range of operation the entire *bahuvrīhi* compound; but *Dvandvē ca* does not have for its range of operation the entire *dvandva* compound, since there is *vikalpa* by the *sūtra Vibhāṣā jasi.*

अथ वा पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् इत्येवमियं विभाषा 'न बहुव्रीहौ' इत्येतं प्रतिषेधं बाधिष्यते, द्वन्द्वे च इत्येतं प्रतिषेधं न बाधिष्यते ।

Or the preceding *apavādas* affect those which immediately succeed them and not those after them. Hence this *vibhāṣā* affects only the *pratiṣēdha* in the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu* and not in the *sūtra Dvandvē ca.*

अथ वा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः, इह कस्मान्न भवति — या पूर्वा सा उत्तरा अस्य उन्मुग्धस्य सोऽयं पूर्वोत्तर उन्मुग्धः तस्मै — पूर्वोत्तराय देहि इति ।

Or he is to be questioned why the *vibhāṣā* does not operate in the form *pūrvōttarāya* in the expression *pūrvōttarāya dēhi,* where *pūrvōttara* means one who thinks *uttarā* as *pūrvā* on account of some derangement in brain and is split thus *pūrvā uttarā yasya saḥ.*

लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव इति ।

On account of the dictum that word mentioned has preference to word got from *lakṣaṇa*.

Note : Only such compounds as are got from the *sūtra Diṅnāmānyantarālē* (2, 2, 26) are to be taken into account here.

यद्येवं, नार्थो बहुव्रीहिग्रहणेन ।

If so, no purpose is served by the word *bahuvrīhāu.*

द्वन्द्वे कस्मान्न भवति ?

How cannot the *vibhāṣā* operate in *dvandva ?*

लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव इति ।

By the dictum that word mentioned has preference to word got from *lakṣaṇa*.

उत्तरार्थं तर्हि बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ।

Bahuvrīhāu has, then, to be read for the succeeding *sūtras.*

न कर्तव्यम् । क्रियते तत्रैव न बहुव्रीहौ इति ।

No, it need not be read. It is read in the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu.*

द्वितीयं कर्तव्यम्; बहुव्रीहिरेव यो बहुव्रीहिः तत्रैव यथा स्यात् बहुव्रीहिवद्भावेन यो बहुव्रीहिः तत्र मा भूत् — एकैकस्मै देहि ।

The word *bahuvrīhāu* has to be read for the second time so that the *vibhāṣā* may operate only in a compound which is an actual *bahuvrīhi* and not only which is like a *bahuvrīhi* as *ēkāikasmāi* in *ēkāikasmāi dēhi.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजन ; समास इति वर्तते, तेन बहुव्रीहिं विशेषयिष्यामः, समासो यो बहुव्रीहिः इति ।

Even this *prayōjana* cannot stand; there is the word *samāsa* in the *sūtra* and it is taken as an adjunct to *bahuvrīhi* so that we may arrive at the interpretation — the actual *bahuvrīhi* compound.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् — अवयवभूतस्यापि बहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधो यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् — वस्त्रमन्तरमेषां त इमे वस्त्रान्तराः वसनमन्तरमेषां त इमे वसनान्तराः, वस्त्रान्तराश्च वसनान्तराश्च वस्त्रान्तरवसनान्तराः ।

If so, this may be considered as *prayōjana* that the *pratiṣēdha* may operate even where the parts of a compound are *bahuvrīhi* as *vastrāntarvasanāntarāḥ* where the *bahuvrīhis vastrāntarāḥ* and *vasanāntarāḥ* are parts of *dvandva*.

न बहुव्रीहौ (1, 1, 28)

किमुदाहरणम् ?

What is the example?

प्रियविश्वाय ।

Priyaviśvāya.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । सर्वाद्यन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यम् । वक्ष्यति चैतत् — बहुव्रीहौ सर्वनामसङ्ख्ययोरुपसङ्ख्यानम् इति । तत्र विश्वप्रियाय इति भवितव्यम् ।

No, this (prohibiting the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* to *viśva* in *priyaviśva*) is not the *prayōjana*. Prohibition operates in *bahuvrīhi* whose final member is *sarvādi*. He is going to say that in the list of *pūrvanipāta* in *bahuvrīhi*, *sarvanāma* and *saṅkhyā* have to be added. Hence *priyaviśvāya* should be *viśvapriyāya*.

Note: *Bahuvrīhāu sarvanāmasaṅkhyayōr upasaṅkhyānam* is a *vārttika* under the *sūtra Saptamī viśēṣaṇē bahuvrīhāu* (2, 2, 35.)

इदं तर्हि द्व्यन्याय त्र्यन्याय ।

If so, this serves as the example *dvyanyāya, tryanyāya.*

ननु चात्रापि सर्वनाम्न एव पूर्वनिपातेन भवितव्यम्?

Is it not that even here that it is the *sarvanāma* that deserves the *pūrvanipāta ?*

नैष दोषः, वक्ष्यत्येतत् सङ्ख्यासर्वनाम्नोर्यो बहुव्रीहिः परत्वात्तत्र सङ्ख्यायाः पूर्वनिपातो भवति इति ।

This objection does not stand, since he is going to say that, if the *bahuvrīhi* has for its members *sarvanāma* and *saṅkhyā*, the latter has the *pūrvanipāta.*

Note: *Saṅkhyāsarvanāmnōr yō bahuvrīhiḥ paratvāt tatra saṅkhyāyāḥ pūrvanipātō bhavati* is not an actual quotation, but is the condensed form of the statement of the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* under the *sūtra Saptamī viśēṣaṇē bahuvrīhāu.*

इदं चाप्युदाहरणम् — प्रियविश्वाय ।

This too—*priyaviśvāya*—serves as an example.

ननु चोक्तं विश्वप्रियाय इति भवितव्यम् इति ?

Has it not been said that it should be *viśvapriyāya ?*

वक्ष्यत्येतत् 'वा प्रियस्य' इति ।

He is going to mention the *vārttika Vā priyasya* (under the same *sūtra.*)

न खल्वप्यवश्यं सर्वाद्यन्तस्यैव बहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यम् ।

It is not absolutely necessary that the prohibition of *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* should have reference only to the *bahuvrīhi* having the final member the *sarvādi,*

किं तर्हि ?

What then ?

असर्वाद्यन्तस्यापि भवितव्यम् ।

It should have reference to that which does not end in *sarvādi*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

Why ?

अकज् मा भूदिति ।

So that *akac* may not set in.

किं च स्याद्यद्यत्राकच्स्यात् ?

What will happen, if there is *akac* here ?

को न स्यात् ।

The *pratyaya ka* cannot set in.

कश्चेदानीं काकचोर्विशेषः ?

What is, then, the difference between *ka* and *akac* ?

व्यञ्जनान्तेषु विशेषः — अहकं पिता यस्य मकत्पितृकः, त्वकं पिता यस्य त्वकत्पितृक इति प्राप्नोति ; मत्कपितृकः त्वत्कपितृक इति चेष्यते ।

There is difference in the words ending in consonants. If there is *akac*, *ahakam pitā yasya* compound into *makatpitṛkaḥ* and *tvakam pitā yasya* into *tvakatpitṛkaḥ*. But the desired forms are *matkapitṛkaḥ* and *tvatkapitṛkaḥ* with the *pratyaya ka*.

कथं पुनरिच्छतापि भवता बहिरङ्गेण प्रतिषेधेन अन्तरङ्गो विधिः शक्यो बाधितुम् ?

How is it possible for you, however much you may so desire, to allow the *antaraṅga-vidhi* to be set at naught by the *bahiraṅga-pratiṣēdha* ?

Note: The *saṁjñāvidhi, Sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* which does not depend upon anything else is *antaraṅga* and *bahuvrīhi-pratiṣēdha* is *bahiraṅga,* since a compound is decided to be *bahuvrīhi* only in its relation to other words in a sentence.

अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो विधिर्बाधते गोमत्प्रिय इति यथा ।

Bahiraṅga-vidhi sets at naught even *antaraṅga-vidhi,* as in *gōmatpriya.*

Note: The mention of the *sūtra Pratyayōttarapadayōḥ* (7, 2, 97) after the *sūtra Tvamāvēkavacanē* suggests that the *bahiraṅga luk* sets at naught the *antaraṅga ādēśa-vidhi* and this is well brought out in the *bhāṣya* under *Pratyayōttarapadayōśca.*

क्रियते तत्र यत्नः प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च इति ।

Attempt has been made there for it to operate by the mention of the *sūtra Pratyayōttarapadayōśca.*

ननु चेहापि क्रियते न बहुव्रीहौ इति ।

Oh, the same attempt is made here also by the mention of the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu.*

अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् ।

There is another purpose which is served by this *sūtra.*

किम् ?

What ?

प्रियविश्वाय ।

So that the form *priyaviśvāya* can be achieved.

उपसर्जनप्रतिषेधेनाप्येतत्सिद्धम् ।

This is achieved even by *upasarjanapratiṣēdha.*

अयं खल्वपि बहुव्रीहिरस्त्येव प्राथमकल्पिको यस्मिन्नैकपद्यमैकस्वर्यमेकविभक्तिकत्वं च। अस्ति तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्द्यम्, बहुव्रीह्यर्थानि पदानि बहुव्रीहिः इति ; तद्यत् तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं तस्येदं ग्रहणम्।

Evidently the primary *bahuvrīhi* is that which is considered a single word, which has a single *udātta* syllable and which is followed by only one case-suffix. The name is sometimes given to those that convey the same meaning, as the name *bahuvrīhi* to the words, which convey the sense of *bahuvrīhi* compound ; and it is in that sense the word *bahuvrīhi* is used here. (Hence the word means here through *lakṣaṇā* the *alāukikavākya* used to split a *bahuvrīhi* compound.)

गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह —

अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसंशयौ। त्वकत्पितृकः मकत्पितृकः इत्येव भवितव्यम् इति।

Gōnardīya says that undoubtedly the *svara* and *akac* due to *sarvanāman* should be had. Hence in his opinion the forms should be *tvakatpitṛkaḥ* and *makatpitṛkaḥ*.

Note : In the opinion of *Gōnardīya*, the *sūtra Na bahuvrīhāu* is unnecessary. Whether the word *Gōnardīya* refers to *Mahābhāṣyakāra* or another *Vārttikakāra* has been discussed in detail in the Preface in Vol. i ; In the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana* too, this *sūtra* is unnecessary since he mentioned the necessity of *saṁjñōpasarjanapratiṣēdha* under the *sūtra Sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*. In the opinion of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* also, this is unnecessary since he admitted the same through *mahāsaṁjñākaraṇa*. Since the *Sūtrakāra* has mentioned this, he does not perhaps intend *saṁjñōpasarjanapratiṣēdha*.

प्रतिषेधे भूतपूर्वस्योपसङ्ख्यानम्

Bhūtapūrva is to be added to the *pratiṣēdha*.

प्रतिषेधे भूतपूर्वस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः आढ्यपूर्वः, आढ्यपूर्वाय देहि इति ।

Bhūta-pūrva is to be added to the *pratiṣēdha Na bahuvrīhāu* so that the form *āḍhyapūrvāya* (in *āḍhyapūrvāya dēhi*) may be achieved where *āḍhyaḥ* and *pūrvaḥ* compound into *āḍhya-pūrvaḥ*.

प्रतिषेधे भूतपूर्वस्योपसङ्ख्यानानर्थक्यं पूर्वादीनां व्यवस्थायामिति वचनात् ।

No use of adding *bhūtapūrva* to *pratiṣēdha* since *pūrvādi* gets the *saṁjñā* only where there is *vyavasthā*.

प्रतिषेधे भूतपूर्वस्योपसङ्ख्यानम् अनर्थकम् ।

No purpose is served by adding *bhūtapūrvē ca* to *Na bahuvrīhāu*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

पूर्वादीनां व्यवस्थायामिति वचनात्; पूर्वादीनां व्यवस्थायां सर्वनामसंज्ञोच्यते । न चात्र व्यवस्था गम्यते ।

On account of the mention that *pūrvādi* gets the *saṁjñā* only where it means *vyavasthā*. The *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* is enjoined to *pūrvādis* only when they primarily mean a particular starting point. Here the limit is not understood in a primary sense.

Note: Since *pūrva* in *āḍhyapūrvaḥ* is only a *viśēṣaṇa* and hence *upasarjana*, the idea of *pūrvatva* is not the the primary element.

तृतीयासमासे (1, 1, 29)

समास इति वर्तमाने पुनः समासग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

When there is the *anuvṛtti* of the word *samāsa* (from the *sūtra Vibhāṣā diksumāsē bahuvrīhāu*), why should the same be read here?

अयं तृतीयासमासोऽस्त्येव प्राथमकल्पिको यस्मिन्नैकपद्यमैकस्वर्यमेकविभक्तिकत्वं चेति । अस्ति च तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं तृतीयासमासार्थानि पदानि तृतीयासमास इति । तद्यत् तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं तस्येदं ग्रहणम् ।

Evidently the primary *tṛtīyāsamāsa* is that which is considered a single word, which has a single *udātta* syllable and which is followed by only one case-suffix. The name is also given to those that convey the same meaning as the name *tṛtīyāsamāsa*—to the words which convey the same sense and it is in that sense the word *tṛtīyāsamāsa* is used here.

अथ वा समास इति वर्तमाने पुनः समासग्रहणस्यैतत् प्रयोजनं, योगाङ्गं यथा विज्ञायेत[1] । सति च योगाङ्गे योगविभागः करिष्यते — तृतीया, तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति, मासपूर्वाय देहि, संवत्सरपूर्वाय देहि ; ततः असमासे, असमासे च तृतीयायाः सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति, मासेन पूर्वाय देहि, संवत्सरेण पूर्वाय देहि इति ।

Or, this is the *prayōjana* for mentioning the word *samāsa* again when there is *anuvṛtti* for the same, that it becomes a *yōga* or a part of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. When it becomes a part of *yōga*, the *sūtra* is split thus :—*tṛtīyā*, which means that *sarvādis* do not get the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* in *tṛtīyāsamāsa* so that we have the expressions *māsapūrvāya dēhi*, *saṁvatsarapūrvāya dēhi* and then *asamāsē*, which means that *sarvādis* do not get the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* in *tṛtīyāsamāsa* so that we may have the expressions *māsēna pūrvāya dēhi* and *saṁvatsarēṇa pūrvāya dēhi*.

विभाषा जसि (1, 1, 32)

जसः कार्यं प्रति विभाषा ; अकज्झि न भवति[2] ।

Vibhāṣā is with reference to (*ī*) the *ādēśa* of *jas* and not with reference to *akac*.

1. उपजायेत is another reading.
2. In some editions *dvandvē ca iti pratiṣēdhāt* is found after *bhavati*.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् (1, 1, 34)

अवरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणानर्थक्यं गणे पठितत्वात्

Non-necessity for the list of *avarādis* in the *sūtra*, they being read in the *gaṇapāṭha*.

अवरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणमनर्थकम् ।

The reading of *avarādis* in the *sūtra* again is unnecessary.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

गणे पठितत्वात् । गणे हि एतानि पठ्यन्ते ।

On account of their being read in *gaṇa*. These are read in the *gaṇa*.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते स पूर्वः पाठः अयं पुनः पाठ इति ?

How is it then understood that *gaṇapāṭha* is anterior and the *pāṭha* here is repetition ?

तानि हि पूर्वादीनि, इमान्यवरादीनि ।

They commence with the word (*sarva*) which precedes and these commence with the word *pūrva*, which is after *sarva*.

इमान्यपि पूर्वादीनि ।

These too may be taken to be anterior.

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, स पूर्वः पाठः अयं पुनः पाठः इति यदयं पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा इति नवग्रहणं करोति । नवैव हि पूर्वादीनि ।

If so, the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that it (*gaṇapāṭha*) is anterior and this (*sūtrapāṭha*) is later, since he mentions the word *navabhyaḥ* in the *sūtra Pūrvādibhyō navabhyō vā* (7, 1, 16). and *pūrvādi* is only nine in number.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायामिति वक्ष्यामि इति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that he will say that they are so when they mean *vyavasthā* and are *usaṁjñā*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्, एवं विशिष्टान्येवैतानि गणे पठ्यन्ते ।

These too are not the *prayōjana* since *pūrvādi* is read in the *gaṇapāṭha* along with *vyavasthāyām asaṁjñāyām*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं द्व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भूत् इति ।

This, then, may be the *prayōjana* that the *paryudāsa* mentioned by *advyādibhyaḥ* (in the *sūtra Kiṁ sarvanāmabahubhyō advyādibhyaḥ* (5, 3, 2), if it is taken according to some that *pūrva* etc. was read in the *gaṇapāṭha* after *tyad* etc.) may not take place here.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्; आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नैषां द्व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो भवतीति यदयं पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् इति निपातनं करोति । वार्तिककारश्च पठति, जश्भावादिति चेदुत्तरत्राभावादपवादप्रसङ्ग इति ।

This too is not the *prayōjana*. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that these are not affected by *dvyādiparyudāsa*, since the *Sūtrakāra* makes use of the word *pūrvatra* in the *sūtra Pūrvatrāsiddham* and *Vārttikakāra* makes use of the word *uttaratra* in the *vārttika Jaśbhāvād iti cēd uttaratra abhāvād apavādaprasaṅgaḥ* under the *sūtra Ḍhō ḍhē lōpaḥ* (8, 3, 13)

Note: If *pūrvādi* were after *tyadādi*, the *pratyaya tral* cannot be added to the words *pūrva* and *uttara* by the *sūtra Saptamyās tral* (5, 3, 10) where there is the *anuvṛtti* to *advyādibhyaḥ* from the *sūtra Kiṁ-sarvanāma-bahubhyō advyādibhyaḥ* (5, 3, 2).

But the terms *pūrvatra* and *uttaratra* are used by the *Sūtrakāra* and the *Vārttikakāra*. Hence, according to them, *pūrvādi* does not come under *dvyādi*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं जसि विभाषां वक्ष्यामि इति ।

This then is the *prayōjana* that there is *vibhāṣā* to the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* with reference to *ī*, the *ādēśa* of *jas*.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् (1, 1, 35)

आख्याग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the word *ākhyā* in the *sūtra* ?

ज्ञातिधनपर्यायवाची यः स्वशब्दः तस्य यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत्, स्वे पुत्राः, स्वाः पुत्राः, स्वे गावः, स्वा गावः ।

So that *Vibhāṣā jasi* may not operate with respect to the word *sva,* only when it means *jñāti* or *dhana* and not when it means one's own as in *svē putrāḥ, svāḥ putrāḥ, svē gāvaḥ* and *svā gāvaḥ.*

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः (1, 1, 36)

उपसंव्यानग्रहणानर्थक्यं बहिर्योगेण कृतत्वात्

Non-necessity of the mention of *upasaṁvyāna,* its purpose being served by *bahiryōga.*

उपसंव्यानग्रहणमनर्थकम् ।

It is unnecessary to mention the word *upasaṁvyāna.*

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

बहिर्योगेण कृतत्वात् । बहिर्योग इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

Since it is accomplished from the mention of *bahiryōga.* It is achieved merely from *bahiryōga.*

Nots : *Bahiryōga* may mean the outer part or the inner part. In the former *bahis* means *open space* and in the latter, it means *outerpart.* Similarly *upasaṁvyāna* may mean *uttarīya* by *karaṇavyutpatti* and *antarīya* by *karmavyutpatti.*

न वा शाटकयुगाद्यर्थम्

No, it is for the sake of a pair of clothes,

न वा अनर्थकम् ।

No, it is not unnecessary.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

शाटकयुगाद्यर्थम् । शाटकयुगाद्यर्थं तर्हीदं वक्तव्यम्, यत्रैतन्न ज्ञायते किम् अन्तरीयं किम् उत्तरीयमिति ।

For the sake of a pair of clothes. This has to be said for the sake of a pair of clothes, where it is not distinguished which is under-garment and which is upper-garment.

अत्रापि य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति निर्ज्ञातं तस्य भवति इदमन्तरीयम् इदमुत्तरीयम् इति ।

Even here if one is a man of comprehension, he is able to discern which is *antarīya* and which is *uttarīya*.

अपुरि

Not in *pur*.

अपुरीति वक्तव्यम्; इह मा भूत्, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति इति ।

Apuri is to be stated so that the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* may not reach *antarā* when it is an adjunct to a town.

वाप्रकरणे तृतीयस्य ङित्सूपसङ्ख्यानम्

The addition of words ending in *tīya* before suffixes which are *ṅit* in the *vibhāṣāprakaraṇa*.

वाप्रकरणे तीयस्य ङित्सूपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् — द्वितीयायै, द्वितीयस्यै, तृतीयायै, तृतीयस्यै । विभाषा द्वितीयतृतीयाभ्याम् इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

The addition of words ending in *tīya* before *ṅits* has to be made in the *vāprakaraṇa*, so that we may have *dvitīyāyāi*, *dvitīyasyāi* and *tṛtīyāyāi* and *tṛtīyasāi*. In that case the *sūtra Vibhāṣā dvitīyatṛtīyābhyām* need not be read.

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ?

Which is better here ?

उपसङ्ख्यानमेवात्र ज्यायः । इदमपि सिद्धं भवति — द्वितीयाय, द्वितीयस्मै, तृतीयाय, तृतीयस्मै ।

Upasaṅkhyāna is decidedly better here, since the forms *dvitīyāya* and *dvitīyasmāi* and *tṛtīyāya* and *tṛtīyasmāi* are also obtained.

स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् (1, 1, 37)

किमर्थं पृथग्ग्रहणं स्वरादीनां क्रियते न चादिष्वेव पठ्येरन् ?

Why should *svarādis* be read separately and *cādis* separately and why should not the former be included in the latter ?

चादीनां वै असत्त्ववचनानां निपातसंज्ञा, स्वरादीनां पुनः सत्त्ववचनानामसत्त्ववचनानां च ।

Cādis get the *nipātasaṁjñā* only when they do not mean a *dravya*, while *svarādis* get the *avyayasaṁñjā* whether they denote a *dravya* or not.

अथ किमर्थमुभे संज्ञे क्रियेते, न निपातसंज्ञैव स्यात् ?

Why then are two *saṁjñās* given ? Is it not sufficient that *nipātasaṁjñā* alone is given ?

नैवं शक्यम् । निपात एकाजनाङ् इति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा उक्ता, सा स्वरादीनामप्येकाचां प्रसज्येत, क इव केव ।

This is not possible. The one-syllabled *nipāta* other than *āṅ* is said to get *pragṛhyasaṁjñā* and it may reach the one-syllabled *svarādi*, so that *kva* + *iva* may not become *kvēva*.

एवं तर्हि अव्ययसंज्ञैवास्तु ।

If so, let them be given *avyayasaṁjñā* alone.

तच्चाशक्यम् । वक्ष्यत्येतत् अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानामिति । तद्गरीयसा न्यासेन परिगणनं कर्तव्यं स्यात् । तस्मात् पृथग्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । उभे च संज्ञे कर्तव्ये ॥

That too is not possible. He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say (under the *sūtra Tatpuruṣē* ... (6, 2, 2) the *vārttika Avyayē naṅkunipātānām* has to be read longer. Hence they have to be read separately and the two *saṁjñās* have to be given.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः (1, 1, 38)

असर्वविभक्तावविभक्तिनिमित्तस्योपसङ्ख्यानम्

Addition of *avibhakti* to *asarvavibhakti*.

असर्वविभक्तौ अविभक्तिनिमित्तस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् — विना, नाना ।

Addition of *avibhakti* to be the *nimitta* to the *avyaya-saṁjñā* along with *asarvavibhakti*, so that the *saṁjñā* may reach the words *vinā, nānā* has to be made.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ?

Why does not *asarvavibhaktikatva* apply to them (*vinā, nānā*) ?

Note : Since it is a general rule that the singular suffix may come after all, these two may be considered to have had the singular suffix alone before it was dropped and hence they may come under those who have *asarvavibhaktitva*.

सर्वविभक्तिर्ह्यविशेषात्

They are *sarvavibhaktika*, all case-suffixes having the chance to come after them.

सर्वविभक्तिर्हि एष भवति ।

For this (*vinā, nānā*) come under *sarvavibhaktika*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अविशेषेण विहितत्वात्

Since all case-suffixes are enjoined after them without discrimination.

त्रलादीनां चोपसङ्ख्यानम्

Addition of *tral* etc. too.

त्रलादीनां चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् — तत्र, यत्र, ततः, यतः ।

Addition has to be made of those that end in *tral* etc. also, as *tatra, yatra, tataḥ, yataḥ*.

ननु च विशेषेणैते विधीयन्ते, पञ्चम्यास्तसिल् सप्तम्यास्त्रल् इति ।

Is it not that they are enjoined only to denote the meaning of particular case-suffix, as *tasil* to denote the fifth-case and *tral* to denote the seventh case ?

वक्ष्यत्येतत् इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते इति ।

He (*Sūtrakāra*) is going to say the *sūtra Itarābhyōspi dṛśyantē* (5, 3, 14).

यदि पुनः अविभक्तिश्शब्दोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवतीत्युच्यते ।

If it is said that the word which has no case-suffix after it gets the *avyayasaṁjñā*,

अविभक्तावितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

If *avibhakti* is the *lakṣaṇa* of *avyaya*, there is no *saṁjñāsiddhi* on account of *anyōnyāśrayadōṣa*.

अविभक्तावितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः संज्ञायाः ।

The non-accomplishment of the *saṁjñā* on account of *anyōnyāśrayatā*, if *avibhaktikatva* is taken to be the *lakṣaṇa* of *avyaya*.

का इतरेतराश्रयता?

What is the nature of *itarētarāśrayatā* ?

सति अविभक्तित्वे संज्ञया भवितव्यं, संज्ञया चाविभक्तित्वं भाव्यते, तदेतदितरेतराश्रयं भवति ।

Saṁjñā comes if there is *avibhaktitva* and *avibhaktitva* comes if there is *saṁjñā*; and thus each depends upon the other for coming into existence.

इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ।

The *kāryas* are not accomplished where there is interdependence

अलिङ्गमसङ्ख्यमिति वा

Or *avyaya* is that which shows no gender nor number.

अथवा अलिङ्गमसङ्ख्यमव्ययसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

Or it should be stated that what shows no gender nor number gets the *avyayasaṁjñā*.

एवमपीतरेतराश्रयमेव भवति ।

Even then there is *anyōnyāśrayatā*.

केतरेतराश्रयता ?

What is the nature of *anyōnyāśrayatā ?*

सति अलिङ्गासङ्ख्यत्वे संज्ञया भवितव्यम्, संज्ञया च अलिङ्गासङ्ख्यत्वं भाव्यते, तदेतद् इतरेतराश्रयं भवति ।

The word gets the *saṁjñā* if it does not show gender and number and it does not show gender and number only after it gets the *saṁjñā* This is the nature of *itrētarāśrayatā*.

इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ।

Kāryas where there is interdependence are not accomplished.

नेदं वाचनिकम्, अलिङ्गता असङ्ख्यता च ।

This—*aliṅgatā* and *asaṅkhyatā*—is not got through mention.

किं तर्हि ?

How then ?

स्वाभाविकमेतत् ।

This is natural.

तद्यथा समानमीहमानानां चाधीयानानां च केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरे न; तत्र किमस्माभिः कर्तुं शक्यम्? स्वाभाविकमेतत् ।

As among those who make an attempt and who study, only some get the desired fruit and others do not get it. What can be done by us there ? It is natural.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् अलिङ्गमसङ्ख्यम् इति ।

Then it has to be mentioned that it is *aliṅga* and *asaṅkhya.*

न वक्तव्यम् ।

It need not be mentioned.

सिद्धं तु पाठात्

It is accomplished by reading.

पाठाद्वा सिद्धमेतत् ।

Or this is accomplished by reading.

कथं पाठः कर्तव्यः ?

How should it be read ?

तसिलादयः प्राक् पाशपः; शस्प्रभृतयः प्राक्समासान्तेभ्यः; मान्तः; तसिवती; कृत्वोऽर्थः; नानाञाविति ।

Tasilādayaḥ prāk pāśapaḥ; śasprabhṛtayaḥ prāksamāsāntēbhyaḥ; māntaḥ; tasivatī; kṛtvōsrthaḥ; nānāñāu iti.

अथवा पुनरस्तु अविभक्तिश्शब्दोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति इत्येव ।

Or let it remain as it is, that the word which has no case-suffix after it is *avyaya*.

ननु चोक्तम् — अविभक्तावितरेतराश्रयत्वाद् अप्रसिद्धिः इति ?

Has it not been said that, if *avibhaktitva* is the *prayōjaka* of *avyaya*, there is *anyōnyāśrayatā ?*

नैष दोषः । इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः — यद्यपि तावद्वैयाकरणा विभक्तिलोपमारभमाणा अविभक्तिकान् शब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते, ये त्वेते वैयाकरणेभ्योऽन्ये मनुष्याः कथं तेऽविभक्तिकान् शब्दान् प्रयुञ्जत इति ? अभिज्ञाश्च, पुनर्लौकिका एकत्वादीनामर्थानाम् । आतश्च अभिज्ञाः — अन्येन हि वस्नेनैकं गां क्रीणन्ति, अन्येन द्वौ, अन्येन त्रीन् । अभिज्ञाश्च, न च प्रयुञ्जते । तदेतदेवं संदृश्यताम् — अर्थरूपमेवैतदेवञ्जातीयकं येनात्र विभक्तिर्न भवति इति ।

This defect cannot stand. He is to be put this question: Even though grammarians make use of words without case-suffixes with the knowledge that they should not have case-suffiixes after them, how do non-grammarians make use of them ? They, being conversant with the use of such words in the world understand the meaning whether it is one etc. In another way too they are knowers. They purchase a bull for one price, two bulls for another and three for another. They do know the meaning (*i.e.*) one object, two objects, three objeets etc., but do not express it. The same may be applied here that they are seen in the world—words without case-suffixes.

तच्चाप्येतदेवमनुगम्यमानं दृश्यताम् । किञ्चिदव्ययं विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानं, किञ्चित् क्रियाप्रधानम् — उच्चैः नीचैः इति विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानं, हिरुक् पृथक् इति क्रियाप्रधानम् । तद्धितश्चापि, कश्चिद्विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानः कश्चित् क्रियाप्रधानः — तत्र यत्र इति विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानः, नाना विना इति क्रियाप्रधानः । न चैतयोरर्थयोर्लिङ्गसङ्ख्याभ्यां योगोऽस्ति ।

Let it be viewed in this light. Some *avyayas* denote prominently the meaning of case-suffixes and some, the meaning of action :—*uccāiḥ* and *nīcāiḥ* belong to the former class and *hiruk* and *pṛthak* belong to the latter. Even among those

that end in *taddhitapratyaya,* some denote prominently the meaning of case-suffixes and some, the meaning of action :— *tatra* and *yatra* belong to the former and *nānā* and *vinā* belong to the latter Besides, the two kinds of meaning mentioned above have no relationship with gender and number.

अथाप्यसर्वविभक्तिरित्युच्यते, एवमपि न दोषः ।

Even if *asarvavibhaktitva* is taken as the *lakṣaṇa,* there is no harm.

कथम्? How ?

इदं चाप्ययत्वे अतिबहु क्रियते, एकस्मिन्नेकवचनं, द्वयोर्द्विवचनं, बहुषु बहुवचनम् इति ।

More than the necessary *sūtras* are read now thus :— *Ekasmin ēkavacanam, Dvayōḥ dvivacanam,* and *Bahuṣu bahuvacanam*

कथं तर्हि ?

How then should they be read ?

एकवचनमुत्सर्गः करिष्यते । तस्य द्विबह्वोरर्थयोः द्विवचनबहुवचने बाधके भविष्यतः ।

Singular number is used as a general rule ; if two or more objects have to be referred to, the dual and plural suffixes are used displacing the singular suffix.

न चाप्येवं विग्रहः करिष्यते, न सर्वाः असर्वाः, असर्वा विभक्तयो यस्मात् इति ।

The *vigraha* too is not thus made : *Na sarvāḥ asarvāḥ, asarvā vibhaktayō asmāt iti.*

कथं तर्हि ?

How then ?

न सर्वा असर्वा, असर्वा विभक्तिः अस्मात् इति ।

Na sarvā asarvā, asarvā vibhkatiḥ asmāt iti.

त्रिकं पुनर्विभक्तिसंज्ञम् ।

All the three-singular, dual and plural go by the name of *vibhakti.*

एवं गते कृत्यपि तुल्यमेतत् मान्तस्य कार्यं ग्रहणं न तत्र ।
ततः परे चाभिमता न कार्याः त्रयः कृदर्था ग्रहणेन योगाः ॥

If so (*i.e.* if *asarvavibhaktitvam* is taken as the *lakṣaṇa* of *avyaya*), this (*asarvavibhaktitvam*) is found even with reference to *kṛt* and hence the *sūtra Kṛnmējantaḥ* and the following two which deal only with *kṛt* need not be read.

कृत्तद्धितानां ग्रहणं तु कार्यं सङ्ख्याविशेषं ह्यभिनिश्रिता ये ।

तेषां प्रतिषेधो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्; इह मा भूत् — एको, द्वौ, बहवः इति ।

Mention of *kṛts* and *taddhitas* is necessary. Those whose *saṅkhyā* is definite may be outside their province, so that the words *ēkaḥ, dvāu* and *bahavaḥ* may not take the *avyaya-saṁjñā.*

तस्मात्स्वरादिग्रहणं च कार्यं कृत्तद्धितानां ग्रहणं च पाठे ॥

Hence it is necessary to read in the *gaṇapāṭha* *svarādi, kṛt* and *taddhita* which take the *avyayasaṁjñā.*

पाठेनेयमव्ययसंज्ञा क्रियते, सेह न प्राप्नोति, परमोच्चैः, परमनीचैः इति ।

Since the name *avyaya* is given to those that are read in the *gaṇapāṭha,* it cannot reach the words *paramōccāiḥ* and *paramanīcāiḥ.*

तदन्तविधिना भविष्यति ।

They get the *saṁjñā* if *tadantavidhi* is taken recourse to.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति — अत्युच्चैः अत्युच्चैसौ अत्युच्चैसः इति ।

It will then reach here also — *atyuccāiḥ*, *atyuccāisāu* and *atyuccāisaḥ*.

'उपसर्जनस्य न' इति प्रतिषेधो भवति ।

It will be prohibited there by applying the rule what applies to one when it is *pradhāna* does not apply when it is *apradhāna*.

स तर्हि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

That *pratiṣēdha* has to be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यः । सर्वनामसंज्ञायां प्रकृतः प्रतिषेध इहानुवर्तिष्यते ।

No, it need not be mentioned. The *pratiṣēdha* that is said with reference to *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* is taken to follow here.

स वै तत्र प्रत्याख्यायते ।

It is set at naught there.

यथा स तत्र प्रत्याख्यायते इहापि तथा शक्यः प्रत्याख्यातुम् ।

As it is set at naught there, so also can it be set at naught here.

कथं च स तत्र प्रत्याख्यायते ?

In what manner is it set at naught there ?

महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते इति ।

That a long *saṁjñā* is given.

इयमपि च महती संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् ? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम — अन्वर्था संज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत — न व्येति इत्यव्ययमिति ।

This *saṁjñā* too is made long and *saṁjñā* is always in a form than which nothing is shorter. What is the source for saying so? For, giving *saṁjñā* is only for ease of *śāstra-pravṛtti*. The benefit of giving a long *saṁjñā* there is that it should be taken to be *anvartha*. *Avyaya* is so called since it does not undergo change (though it may convey many meanings).

क पुनर्न व्येति?

Where does it not undergo change?

स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकानि सत्त्वगुणाः एकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वानि च । एतानर्थान् केचिद्वियन्ति, केचिन्न वियन्ति । ये न वियन्ति तदव्ययम् ।

The characteristics of nouns are feminine, masculine and neuter genders and singular, dual and plural numbers. Some undergo change in their forms to denote them and some do not undergo change. Those who do not undergo change go by the name of *avyaya*.

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

Avyaya is one which has the same form in all the three genders, in all the seven cases and in all the three numbers.

Note: The word *sattva* is taken to denote *noun* since *Prāti-śākhyas* mention *sattvapradhānāni nāmāni* and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says *anēkākārakaśaktiyōga ēva ca sattvam* under the *sūtra Svarādinipātam avyayam*.

कृन्मेजन्तः (1, 1, 39)

There are two topics dealt with here. They are (1) whether *mānta* is the *viśēṣaṇa* to *kṛt* which takes *anta-grahaṇa* later on or *kṛdanta* and (2) the need for the mention of the *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighā-tasya*, its merits and its defects.

I

कथमिदं विज्ञायते, कृद्यो मान्त इति आहोस्वित् कृदन्तं यन्मान्तम् इति ?

How is this to be interpreted, whether *mānta* is to be the *viśēṣaṇa* of *kṛt* (which may take *antagrahaṇa* later on) or *kṛdanta* ?

किं चातः ?

What if whether it is taken one way or other?

यदि विज्ञायते, कृद्यो मान्त इति कारयाञ्चकार हारयाञ्चकार इत्यत्र न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is taken that *mānta* is the *viśēṣaṇa* of *kṛt*, the *saṁjñā* cannot reach *kārayām* and *hārayām* in *kārayañca-kāra* and *hārayāñcakāra*.

Note : The roots *kṛ* and *hṛ* take *ām* after them in *liṭ* by the *sūtra Ijādēśca gurumatōsanṛcchaḥ* (3, 1, 35) and the *liṭ* after *ām* is dropped by the *sūtra Āmaḥ* (2, 4, 81). *Kārayām* and *hārayām* may be taken as *kṛdanta* by *tadantagrahaṇa* on account of the *liṭ* which is *kṛt* being dropped and cannot be taken as *kṛt.*

अथ विज्ञायते कृदन्तं यन्मान्तमिति, प्रतामौ प्रतामः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

If it is taken that *mānta* is the *viśēṣaṇa* to *kṛdanta*, it will have *ativyāpti* in *pratāmāu* and *pratāmaḥ.*

Note : The stem *pratām* is got from the root *tam* preceded by the preposition *pra* followed by the *pratyaya kvip.* According to the dictum *Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*, *pratām* in *pratāmāu* and *pratā-maḥ* may be taken to be *kṛdanta* and they are *mānta* also.

यथेच्छसि तथास्तु ।

Let it be as you please.

अस्तु तावत् कृद्यो मान्त इति ।

Let it first be that *mānta* is the *viśēṣaṇa* of *kṛt*.

कथं कारयाञ्चकार हारयाञ्चकार इति ?

How are we to meet the difficulty with reference to *kārayāñcakāra*, *hārayāñcakāra* ?

किं पुनरत्राव्ययसंज्ञया प्रार्थ्यते ?

What is the object to be achieved through *avyaya-saṁjñā* here ?

अव्ययात् इति लुग्यथा स्यात् इति ।

So that the *luk* enjoined by the *sūtra Avyayād āpsupaḥ* (2, 4, 82) may take place.

मा भूदेवम्, आमः इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

It need not be so ; it takes place by the *sūtra Āmaḥ*.

न सिध्यति । लिग्रहणं तत्रानुवर्तते ।

No, it cannot be ; the word *li* is taken to the *sūtra Āmaḥ* (from the previous *sūtra Mantrē ghasa-hvara-ṇaśa-vṛ-dahādvṛc-kṛ gami-janibhyō lēḥ* (2, 4, 80)

लिग्रहणं निवर्तिष्यते ।

Li is not taken here from the previous *sūtra*.

यदि निवर्तते, प्रत्ययमात्रस्य लुक् प्राप्नोति ।

If there is no *anuvṛtti*, *luk* will happen only to the *pratyaya*.

इष्यते च प्रत्ययमात्रस्य । आतश्चेष्यते ; एवं ह्याह, 'कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि' इति । यदि च प्रत्ययमात्रस्य लुग् भवति तत एतदुपपन्नं भवति ।

Luk is desired to all *pratyayas*. It is so desired for this reason also : He says that the root *kṛ* is read after it in *liṭ* ; this is appropriate only when there is *luk* for the *pratyaya*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु कृदन्तं यन्मान्तम् इति ।

Or let it be that *mānta* is the *viśēṣaṇa* of *kṛdanta*.

कथं प्रतामौ प्रताम इति ?

How are we to avoid the *ativyāpti* in *pratāmāu, pratāmaḥ ?*

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, न प्रत्ययलक्षणेन अव्ययसंज्ञा भवति इति, यदयं प्रशान्शब्दं स्वरादिषु पठति ।

The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that the dictum *Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam* does not hold good with reference to *avyayasaṁjñā*, since he reads the word *praśān* in in the list *svarādi*.

II

कृन्मेजन्तश्चानिकारोकारप्रकृतिः

Avoiding *ēc* which has for its source *i* or *u* in *Kṛnmējantaḥ*

कृन्मेजन्तश्चानिकारोकारप्रकृतिरिति वक्तव्यम्; इह मा भूत् आधये आधेः, चिकीर्षवे चिकीर्षोः इति ।

It has to be said that the *ēc* mentioned in *kṛnmējantaḥ* should not have for its source *i* or *u*, so that *avyayasaṁjñā* may not have *ativyāpti* in the words *ādhayē*, *ādhēḥ*, *cikīrṣavē*, *cikīrṣōḥ*.

अनन्यप्रकृतिरिति वा ।

Or that which has nothing for its source.

अथवा अनन्यप्रकृतिः कृत् अव्ययसंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

Or it must be said that *kṛt* which has nothing else for its source gets the *avyayasaṁjñā*.

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ?

Which is better here ?

अनन्यप्रकृतिरिति वचनमेव ज्यायः । इदमपि सिद्धं भवति कुम्भकारेभ्य नगरकारेभ्यः इति ।

The statement *ananyaprakṛtiḥ* is better. This too is achieved *i. e.* the *ativyāpti* is avoided here also :—*kumbhakārēbhyaḥ, nagarakārēbhyaḥ.*

Note : The *a* of *kumbhakāra* and *nagarakāra* becomes *ē* before *bhyaḥ* by the *sūtra Bahuvacanē jhalyēt* (7, 3, 103).

तर्हि वक्तव्यम्

It (*ananyaprakṛtiḥ*) has to be mentioned.

न वा, सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति ।

No, the rule depending upon the combination of two things never allows another rule to destroy it.

न वा वक्तव्यम्

It may not be mentioned.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति परिभाषा कर्तव्या ।

The *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya* has to be read.

कः पुनरत्र विशेषः, एषा वा परिभाषा क्रियेत, अनन्यप्रकृतिः इति वा उच्येत ।

Let this *paribhāṣā* be read or the statement *ananyaprakṛtiḥ.* What will be the difference here ?

अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या ; बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ।

This *paribhāṣā* has to be necessarily read, since there are many advantages derived from this *paribhāṣā.*

कानि पुनस्तानि ?

What, then, are they ?

प्रयोजनं ह्रस्वत्वं तुग्विधेर्ग्रामणिकुलम्

Benefit is that *h̥asvavt* is (*animitta*) to *tugvidhi* as in *grāmaṇikulam*.

ग्रामणिकुलं सेनानिकुलम् इत्यत्र ह्रस्वत्वे कृते, ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुग्भवति इति तुक् प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

When *ī* in *grāmaṇī* and *sēnānī* is shortened in the words *grāmaṇikulam* and *sēnānikulam* (by the *sūtra Ikō hrasvōsnyō Gālavasya* (6, 3, 61), *tuk* has a chance to set in by the *sūtra Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* (6, 1, 71), but it does not do so by the dictum *Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्; बहिरङ्गं ह्रस्वत्वम् अन्तरङ्गस्तुक्; असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ।

This need not be taken as the result of the *paribhāṣā* ; *hrasvatva* is *bahiraṅga* and *tuk* is *antaraṅga* and when *antaraṅgakārya* is to be done, *bahiraṅgakārya* is considered non-existent.

Note : *Hrasvatva* is *bahiraṅga*, since it depends upon two words; and *tuk* is *antaraṅga* since it depends upon one word.

नलोपो वृत्रहभिः

Nalōpa is *animitta* to *tugvidhi* as in *vṛtrahabhiḥ*.

वृत्रहभिः भ्रूणहभिरित्यत्र नलोपे कृते ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुग्भवतीति तुक् प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

When *n* is elided in the words *vṛtrahabhiḥ* and *bhrūṇahabhiḥ* (by the *sūtra Nalōpaḥ prātipadikāntasya* (8, 2, 7) there is chance for *tuk* to make its appearance by the *sūtra*

Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk ; but it does not do so by the dictum *Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । असिद्धो नलोपः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् न भविष्यति ।

This too need not be taken as the *prayōjana* of the *paribhāṣā*, since the *sūtra* enjoining *nalōpa* is in the *second pāda* of the *eighth adhyāya* and the *sūtra* enjoining *tuk* is in the *sixth adhyāya* and hence when *tuk* wants to appear, *nalōpa* is considered to be non-existent

उदुपधत्वमकित्त्वस्य निकुचिते

Udupadhatva is *animitta* to *akittva* in the word *nikucita.*

उदुपधत्वम् अकित्त्वस्यानिमित्तम्

Udupadhatva is *animitta* to *akittva.*

क ?

Where ?

निकुचिते । निकुचिते इत्यत्र नलोपे कृते उदुपधाद् भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम् इति अकित्त्वं प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

In the word *nikucita.* After *n* is elided (when the root *kuñc* preceded by the preposition *ni* is followed by *kta pratyaya*) by the *sūtra Aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti* (6, 4, 24) and the word *nikucita* is formed, there is a tendency for the *sūtra Udupadhād bhāvādikarmaṇōr anyatarasyām* (1, 2, 21) and make the *kta* pratyaya optionally *akit* and the *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya* prevents it.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अस्त्वत्र अकित्त्वं, न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति ।

This too need not be considered as the *prayōjana* of the *paribhāṣā.* Let there be *akittva* and the prospective *guṇa* is prevented by the *sūtra Na dhātulōpa ārdhadhātukē.*

नाभावो यञि दीर्घत्वस्यामुना

Nābhāva is *animitta* to the lengthening by the *sūtra Supi ca* when the stem is followed by a *sup* which commences in *yañ* as in the word *amunā*.

नाभावो यञि दीर्घत्वस्यानिमित्तम्

Nābhāva is *animitta* to the lengthening by the *sūtra Supi ca* (7, 3, 102).

क ?

Where ?

अमुना

In the word *amunā*.

नाभावे कृते अतो दीर्घो यञि, सुपि च इति दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति ।

After *nābhāva* is done by the *sūtra Āṅō nā astriyām* (7, 3, 120), there is chance for the lengthening in *amu* by the *sūtra Supi ca* which follows *Atō dīrghō yañi*.

सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

It is prevented by the *paribhāṣā Sannipatalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्; वक्ष्यत्येतत् न मु टादेशे इति ।

This too need not be considered as a *prayōjana*, since he (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to mention [under the *sūtra Na mu nē* (8, 2, 3)] the *vārttika Na mu ṭādēśē*.[1]

आत्वं कित्त्वस्योपादास्त

Ātvam is *animitta* to *kitva* as in *upādāsta*.

1. It means *ṭāyāḥ ādēśē ṭāyām ādēśē yat kāryam prāpnōti tatprati mubhāvō nāsiddaḥ*.

आत्वं कित्त्वस्य अनिमित्तम्

The *ātva* is *animitta* to *kittva*.

क ?

Where ?

[1] उपादास्तास्य स्वरः शिक्षकस्य इति । आत्वे कृते स्थाघ्वोरिच्च इतीत्त्वं प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

In the word *upādāsta* in the sentence *upādāsta asya svaraḥ śikṣakasya.* After *ātva* is done [in the root *dīṅ* by the *sūtra Mīnāti-minōti dīṅām lyapi ca* (6, 1, 50)] *ā* is not changed to *i* by the *sūtra Sthāghvōr icca* (1, 2, 17) on account of the dictum *Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । उक्तमेतत् — दीङः प्रतिषेधः स्थाघ्वोरित्त्वे इति ।

This too is not a *prayōjana,* since it has been said (under *Dādhāghvadāp* (1, 1, 20) the *vārttika Dīṅaḥ pratiṣēdhaḥ sthāghvōr itvē.*

तिसृचतसृत्वं ङीब्विधेः

Tisṛtva and *catasṛtva* are *animitta* to *ṅībvidhi.*

तिसृचतसृत्वं ङीब्विधेरनिमित्तम्

Tisṛtva and *catasṛtva* are *animitta* to *ṅīb-vidhi.*

क ?

Where ?

तिस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति चतस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति इति । तिसृचतसृभावे कृते ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् इति ङीप् प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

1. *Upādāsta* is the third person singular, aorist of the root *dīṅ* (4th conj.). After it gets *ātva,* it is said that it may be considered as *ghu* by the *sūtra Dādhāghvadāp* (1, 1, 20) and consequently *ā* may be changed to *i.*

In the words *tisraḥ* and *catasraḥ* in the sentences *tisras tiṣṭhanti* and *catasras tiṣṭhanti*. After *tri* and *catur* are changed to *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* (by the *sūtra Tricaturōḥ striyām tisṛ catasṛ* (7, 2, 99), they may get *ṅīp* by the *sūtra ṛnnēbhyō ṅīp* (4, 1, 5) and the *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya* prevents it.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न तिसृचतसृभावे कृते ङीप् भवति इति, यदयं 'न तिसृचतसृ' नामि दीर्घत्वस्य प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

Even this is not a *prayōjana* ; for the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* do not take *ṅīp* after them, since he prohibits the *dīrghatva* before *nām* (6th case plural suffix) by the *sūtra Na tisṛcatasṛ*.

इमानि तर्हि प्रयोजनानि

These are, then, *prayōjanas*.

[1] शतानि सहस्राणि

Śatāni and *sahasrāṇi*.

नुमि कृते ष्णान्ता षट् इति षट्संज्ञा प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

After *num* is inserted (between *śata* + *i* and *saharasa* + *i* by the *sūtra Napuṁsakasya jhalacaḥ*), there is chance for *ṣaṭsaṁjñā* and it is prevented by the *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya*.

Note : The *numāgama* comes on account of the nom. acc. plural suffix *i*. If *śatan* and *sahasran* get the *ṣaṭsaṁjñā* because they end in *n*, the case-suffix *i* should be dropped by the *sūtra Ṣaḍbhyō luk*. Hence *n* which owes its existence to *i* does not cause the elision of the latter.

1. Some consider this as *vārttika*.

शकटौ पद्धतौ

Śakaṭāu and *paddhatāu.*

अत्वे कृते अत इति टाप् प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

When the final of *śakaṭi* and *paddhati* is changed to *a* by the *sūtra Acca ghēḥ* (7, 3, 119), there is chance for *ṭāp* to set in by the *sūtra Ajādyataṣ ṭāp* (4, 1, 4) and the *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya* prevents it.

Note : The final *i* is changed to *a* when it is followed by the case-suffix and hence it does not allow *ā* to intercede between them.

इयेष उवोष

Iyēṣa and *uvōṣa.*

गुणे कृते इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः इत्याम् प्राप्नोति । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य इति न दोषो भवति ।

When *i* and *u* of the roots *iṣ* and *uṣ* take *guṇa* before the third person singular perfect termination *a* (by the *sūtra Pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7, 3, 86), there is a chance for *ām* to set in by the *sūtra Ijādēśca gurumatō anṛcchaḥ* (3, 1, 36) and the *paribhāṣā Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya* prevents it.

Note : The *guṇa* of *i* and *u* depends upon the existence of the verbal termination and hence it cannot be responsible for its loss by allowing the root take *ām* after it.

तस्य दोषः — वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्य

Its defect—the *pratyaya* depending upon a *varṇa* for its application is *animitta* to its displacement.

तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः

The defect in this *lakṣaṇa*.

वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्य अनिमित्तं स्यात् ।

The *pratyaya* which depends upon a letter for its application cannot be responsible for its displacement.

न प्रत्ययः सन्निपातलक्षणः

Since the word already exists and the classification of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* was done later by grammarians, the *pratyaya* cannot be considered to be dependent upon another.

अङ्गसंज्ञा तर्ह्यनिमित्तं स्यात्

Aṅgasaṁjñā, then, becomes *animitta*.

Note: *Nāgōjibhabṭṭa* here says that *sannipāta* need not be the *sambandha* between *nimitta* and *nimittin* alone, but also it may be the *sambandha* between *viśēṣaṇa* and *viśēṣya*. Hence the *pratyaya* which depends for its application upon the *sambandha* between the *prātipadika* and *adantatva* may not be responsible to break that *sambandha*.

आत्वं पुग्विधेः क्रापयति

The *ātva* has to be *animitta* to *pugvidhi* in *krāpayati*.

आत्वं पुग्विधेरनिमित्तं स्यात्

The *ātva* (by the *sūtra* *Krīṅ-jīnām ṇāu* 6, 1, 48) has to be *animitta* to *pugvidhi* (by the *sūtra* *Arti-hrī-vlī-rī-knūyī-kṣmāyyātām pugṇāu* 7, 3, 36.)

क?

Where?

क्रापयति इति

In *krāpayati*.

Note : The root *krīṅ* takes *vṛddhi* before *ṇic* and *āi* is changed to *ā* and *pugāgama* sets in so that the form *krāpayati* is determined. The *ātva* is due to the succeeding *ṇic* and the same should not be responsible to allow *puk* to intercede between them ; but it intercedes.

पुग्घ्रस्वत्वस्यादीदपत्

Puk has to be *animitta* to *hrasvatva* in *adīdapat.*

पुग्घ्रस्वत्वस्यानिमित्तं स्यात्

Puk has to be *animitta* to *hrasvatva.*

क ?

Where ?

अदीदपत् इति

In *adīdapat.*

Note : *Adīdapat* is the third person singular, *luṅ* of the *ṇijanta* of the root *dīṅ* ; *dī* is changed to *dā* by the *sūtra Mīnāti-minōti-dīṅām lyapi ca* (6, 1, 50) and it takes *pugāgama* by the *sūtra Arti-hrī-vlī-rī-knūyī-kṣmāyyātām puṅṇāu* (7, 3, 36). The *ā* of *dā* is shortened to *a* by the *sūtra Ṇāu-caṅi-upadhāyā-hrasvaḥ* (7, 4, 3). Here *puk* which owes its existence to the previous *ā* is responsible for its shortening.

त्यदाद्यकारष्टाब्विधेः

The *a* of *tyadādi* has to be *animitta* to *ṭābvidhi.*

त्यदाद्यकारः टाब्विधेरनिमित्तं स्यात्।

The *akāra* of *tyadādi* has to be *animitta* to *ṭābvidhi.*

क्व ?

Where ?

या सा इति

In *yā*, *sā* etc.

Note : *Yad* and *tad* become *ya* and *sa* before case-suffix by the *sūtra Tyadādīnām aḥ* (7, 2, 102) ; *ṭāp* sets in on account of *a* by the *sūtra Ajādyataṣṭāp* (4, 1, 4) and hence *a* allows *ṭāp* to intercede between it and the case-suffix.

इड्विधिराकारलोपस्य

Iḍvidhi has to be *animitta* to *ākāralōpa*.

इड्विधिराकारलोपस्य अनिमित्तं स्यात्

Iḍvidhi has to be *animitta* to *ākāralōpa*.

क्व ?

Where ?

ययिवान्, तस्थिवान् इति

In *yayivān*, *tasthivān*.

Note : The roots *yā* and *sthā* after reduplication take *iḍāgama* by the *sūtra Vasvēkājādghasām* (7, 2, 67) and this *i* is responsible for the loss of *ā* as is seen in the *sūtra Ātō lōpa iṭi ca* (6, 4, 64.)

मतुब्विभक्त्युदात्तत्वं पूर्वनिघातस्य

The *udāttatva* of *matup* and *vibhakti* has to be *animitta* to the *anudāttatva* of the previous syllable.

मतुब्विभक्त्युदात्तत्वं पूर्वनिघातस्य अनिमित्तं स्यात्

The *udāttatva* of *matup* and *vibhakti* has to be *animitta* to the *anudāttatva* of the previous syllable.

क ?

Where ?

अग्निमान् वायुमान्; परमवाचा परमवाचे इति

In the words *agnimān, vāyumān; paramavācā, paramavācē.*

Note : The final syllable of *agni* and *vāyu* is *udātta*. When they get the *pratyaya matup* after them by the *sūtra Tadasyāstyasminniti matup* (5, 2, 94), *matup* becomes *udātta* by the *sūtra Hrasvanuḍbhyām matup* (6, 1, 176) and consequently the final syllable of *agni* and *vāyu* lose their *udāttatva* by the general rule *Anudāttam padam ēkavarjam* (6, 1, 158). Here the *pratyaya matup* which comes after *agni* and *vāyu* makes them lose the *udāttatva* in the final syllable. Similarly the third case-suffix and the fourth case-suffix in *paramavāca, paramavācē* enables the previous syllable *vā* lose its *udāttatva* by the *sūtra Antōdāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyām anityasamāsē* (6, 1, 169).

नदीह्रस्वत्वं संबुद्धिलोपस्य

The *hrasvatva* of *nadī* has to be *animitta* to *sambuddhilōpa.*

नदीह्रस्वत्वं संबुद्धिलोपस्य अनिमित्तं स्यात्

The *hrasvatva* of the words which come under *nadī* (*Yūstryākhyāu nadī*) [by the *sūtra Ambārthanadyōr hrasvaḥ* (7, 3, 107)] has to be *animitta* to the *sambuddhilōpa* [by the *sūtra Ēṅ hrasvāt sambuddhēḥ* (6, 1, 69)]

क ?

Where ?

नदि, कुमारि, किशोरि, ब्राह्मणि, ब्रह्मबन्धु इति ।

In the words *nadi, kumāri, kiśōri, brāhmaṇi, brahma-bandhu* etc.

नदीह्रस्वत्वे कृते, एङ् ह्रस्वात् संबुद्धेः इति संबुद्धिलोपो न प्राप्नोति ।

After the final of *nadī* is shortened, the *sambuddhilōpa* should not happen by the *sūtra Eṅ hrasvāt sambuddhēḥ*.

Note: The words under *nadī* have their final shortened on account of the *sambuddhi* following it and the shortened vowel is responsible for the loss of the *sambuddhi*.

मा भूदेवं ; ङ्यन्तादित्येवं भविष्यति ।

This need not be, (*i.e.*) the *sambuddhilōpa* need not be by the *sūtra Eṅ hrasvāt sambuddhēḥ*; let it be by the *sūtra Halṅyābhyō dīrghāt sutisyapṛktam hal* (6, 1, 68).

न सिध्यति ; दीर्घात् इत्युच्यते, ह्रस्वान्ताच्च न प्राप्नोति ।

No, it cannot be ; since it is said that it happens after a long vowel, it cannot operate after a short vowel.

इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यं, ह्रस्वत्वं क्रियतां सम्बुद्धिलोप इति ।

This is to be decided whether the vowel is to be shortened (first) or the *sambuddhi* is to be elided.

किमत्र कर्तव्यम् ?

What is to be done here ?

परत्वात् ह्रस्वत्वम्

The shortening of the vowel is to be done first, since the *sūtra* enjoining it is later than the *sūtra* enjoining the other.

नित्यः सम्बुद्धिलोपः, कृते ह्रस्वत्वे प्राप्नोति, अकृते च ।

The *sambuddhilōpa* is *nitya*, since it operates both when the vowel is shortened and when it is not shortened.

अनित्यः सम्बुद्धिलोपः ; न हि कृते ह्रस्वत्वे प्राप्नोति ।

Sambuddhi-lōpa is *anitya*, for it does not operate after the vowel is shortened.

किं कारणम् ?

Why ?

सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ।

Sannipātalakṣaṇō vidhir animittam tadvighātasya.

एते दोषाः समा भूयांसो वा । तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया ।

These defects are equal to the merits or are greater in number. Hence there is no use of this *paribhāṣā*.

Note : *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* here says that, though the merits are *nine* and defects *eight*, they are mentioned to be equal since the difference between them is small. Of the merits *six* seem to be from the pen of the *Vārttikakāra*, which *Mahābhāṣyakāra* does not freely admit and *three* from the pen of the *Mahābhāṣyakāra*. That the last *three* alone are admitted to be the merits by the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* is clear from his statement *imāni tarhi prayōjanāni*. But some editions read the last three also as *vārttikas*. The defects are only *seven* in number and it is not known how *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that they are *eight*. The statement *ētē dōṣāḥ samāḥ bhūyāṁsō vā* has sprung only on the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra*.

न हि दोषाः सन्तीति परिभाषा न कर्तव्या लक्षणं वा न प्रणेयम् । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते, न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते ।

It is not correct to say that, because there are defects, *paribhāṣā* need not be enunciated nor rule to be framed.

We do not see that the cooking pots are not placed on hearth because there are beggars, nor is wheat not sown because there are animals.

दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिताः । प्रयोजनानामुदाहरणमात्रम् ।

The defects alone have been completely counted; while the merits have not been fully exhausted.

कुत एतत् ?

Why is this ?

न हि दोषाणां लक्षणमस्ति ।

For there is no *upalakṣaṇa-rūpa* for *dōṣas*.

तस्मात् यान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि तदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या, प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥

Therefore this *paribhāṣā* is to be read considering its *prayōjanas* and the defects have to be rectified.

अव्ययीभावश्च (1, 1, 41)

अव्ययीभावस्याव्ययत्वे प्रयोजनं लुङ्मुखस्वरोपचाराः

The purpose of taking *avyayībhāva* as *avyaya* is for the sake of *luk*, *mukhasvara* and *upacāra*.

अव्ययीभावस्य अव्ययत्वे प्रयोजनं किम् ?

Why should *avyayībhāva* be considered *avyaya* ?

लुङ्मुखस्वरोपचाराः

For the sake of *luk*, *mukhasvara* and *upacāra*.

लुक् — उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि, अव्ययात् इति लुक् सिद्धो भवति ।

Luk. The *luk* of *sup* after *upāgni* and *pratyagni* is achieved by the *sūtra Avyayād āpsupaḥ* (2, 4, 82).

मुखस्वरः — उपाग्निमुखः, प्रत्यग्निमुखः नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः इत्येष प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति ।

Mukhasvaraḥ — The *antōdāttatva* of *upāgnimukhaḥ*, *pratyagnimukhaḥ* [obtained by the *sūtra Mukham svāṅgam* (6, 2, 167)] is avoided by the *sūtra Nāvyayadikśabdagōmahatsthūlamuṣṭipṛthuvatsēbhyaḥ* (6, 2, 168) (so that they get the *antōdāttatva* of the former member).

उपचारः [1] उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः इति, अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति ।

Upacāraḥ — *s* does not replace *visarga* after *y* in *upapayaḥkāraḥ* and *upapayaḥkāmaḥ* on account of the mention of *anavyayasya* in the *sūtra Ataḥ-kṛ-kami-kaṁsa-kumbha-pātra-kuśākarṇīṣu anavyayasya* (8, 3, 46).

किं पुनरिदं परिगणनमाहोस्वित् उदाहरणमात्रम् ?

Is this an exhaustive list or capable of addition ?

परिगणनमित्याह

Exhaustive list, says he.

अपि खल्वाहुः यदन्यद् अव्ययीभावस्य अव्ययकृतं प्राप्नोति तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः इति ।

Others add that whatever else happening to *avyaya* should be prohibited to *avyayībhāva*.

किं पुनस्तत् ?

What is it then ?

पराङ्गवद्भावः — पराङ्गवद्भावे अव्ययप्रतिषेधश्चोदितः उच्चैरधीयान नीचैरधीयान इत्येवमर्थं, स इहापि प्राप्नोति उपाग्न्यधीयान प्रत्यग्न्यधीयान ।

1. *Visargasthānikasya sakārasya upacāra iti prācām saṁjñā.*

Parāṅgavadbhāva — With reference to a phrase consisting of a noun with a case-suffix after it followed by a vocative, it is said that the former word is considered to be an *aṅga* to the latter so that it may take the vocative accent. But if the former word is an *avyaya*, it is prohibited from taking the *parāṅgavadbhāva* (by the *vārttika Avyayapratiṣēdhaśca* under the *sūtra Subāmantritē parāṅgavat svarē* (2, 1, 2) as in *uccāir adhīyāna* and *nīcāir adhīyāna* (where *adhīyāna* is vocative and *uccāiḥ* and *nīcāiḥ* have not taken the *ādyudātta* of the vocative at the beginning of a *pāda*). The same *pratiṣēdha* may chance to come in the expressions *upāgni adhīyāna* and *pratyagni adhīyāna.* (Hence we find the *vārttika* under the same *sūtra Anavyayībhāvasya*).

अकच्यव्ययग्रहणं क्रियते उच्चकैः नीचकैः इत्येवमर्थम् । तदिहापि प्राप्नोति उपाग्निकं प्रत्यग्निकम् ।

The word *avyaya* is read with reference to *akac* [in the *sūtra Avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ca tēḥ* (5, 3, 71)] so that the forms *uccakāiḥ* and *nīcakāiḥ* may be formed. The same may have a chance to come in *upāgnikam* and *pratyagnikam.*

मुमि अव्ययप्रतिषेधश्चोद्यते, दोषामन्यमहः दिवामन्या रात्रिः इत्येवमर्थम् । स इहापि प्राप्नोति उपकुम्भंमन्यः उपमणिकंमन्यः इति ।

Avyayapratiṣēdha is mentioned with reference to *num* in in the *sūtra Arur-dviṣad-ajantasya mum* (6, 3, 67) so that we have *dōṣāmanyam ahaḥ, divāmanyā rātriḥ.* The same is liable to happen with reference to *upakumbham-manyaḥ* and *upamaṇikam-manyaḥ.*

अस्य च्वौ अव्ययप्रतिषेध उच्यते, दोषाभूतमहः दिवाभूता रात्रिः इत्येवमर्थम्, स इहापि प्राप्नोति उपकुम्भीभूतम् उपमणिकीभूतम् ।

Avyayapratiṣēdha is mentioned (in the *vārttika Avyayasya cvāu ītvam nēti vācyam*) with reference to the operation the *sūtra Asya cvāu* so that the forms *dōṣābhūtam ahaḥ* and *divābhūtā rātriḥ* may be formed. That may have a chance to operate in *upakumbhībhūtam* and *upamaṇikībhūtam.*

यदि परिगणनं क्रियते नार्थोऽव्ययीभावस्य अव्ययसंज्ञया ।

If an exhaustive list is given, there is no purpose served by giving *avyayasaṁjñā* to *avyayībhāva*.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि ।

Those mentioned are not the *prayōjanas*.

यत्तावदुच्यते लुक् इति ; आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवति अव्ययीभावाल्लुगिति यदयं नाव्ययीभावादतः इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

With reference to the first *prayōjana luk*, the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that there is *luk* after *avyayībhāva*, since there is *pratiṣēdha* mentioned to it in certain cases in the *sūtra Na avyayībhāvād atōsm tvapañcamyāḥ* (2, 4, 83).

With reference to (the third *prayōjana*) *upacāra anuttarapadasthasya* is taken to the *sūtra Ataḥ kṛkami* ... (8, 3, 46) from the previous *sūtra*.

तत्र मुखस्वर एकः प्रयोजयति । न चैकं प्रयोजनं योगारम्भं प्रयोजयति । यद्येतावत् प्रयोजनं स्यात्तत्रैवायं ब्रूयात् नाव्ययादव्ययीभावाच्च ।

Of these *mukhasvara* alone remains as *prayōjana*. One *sūtra* need not be read for the sake of *one prayōjana*. If the *Sūtrakāra* is very particular about that *prayōjana*, he might have read *avyayībhāvācca* along with *avyayād* in the *sūtra Nāvyaya* ... (6, 2, 168)

Note : *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that, in the opinion of *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, this *sūtra* need not be read.

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् (1, 1, 42) ; सुडनपुंसकस्य (1, 1, 43)

शि सर्वनामस्थानं सुडनपुंसकस्येति चेज्जसि शिप्रतिषेधः

If it is said that *śi* gets *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* and *suṭ* does not get it in *napuṁsaka*, there is *śipratiṣēdha* in *jas*.

शि सर्वनामस्थानं सुडनपुंसकस्य इति चेत् जसि शेः प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति — कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, वनानि तिष्ठन्ति ।

If it is said that *śi* gets *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* and *suṭ* does not get it in *napuṁsaka,* there is *śipratiṣēdha* in *jas* so that the forms *kuṇḍāni* and *vanāni* in the sentences *kuṇḍāni tiṣṭhanti* and *vanāni tiṣṭhanti* cannot be formed.

असमर्थसमासश्च

Asamarthasamāsa too.

असमर्थसमासश्चायं द्रष्टव्योऽनपुंसकस्येति; न हि नञो नपुंसकेन सामर्थ्यम् ।

The word *anapuṁsakasya* should be taken as an *asamarthasamāsa* (a compound having component members not related to each other); for the negative particle has no relation with *napuṁsaka.*

केन तर्हि?

With whom then?

भवतिना

With the finite verb *bhavati.*

न भवति नपुंसकस्य इति ।

That it does not happen to *napuṁsaka,* is then the meaning.

यत्तावदुच्यते शि सर्वनामस्थानं सुडनपुंसकस्येति चेज्जसि प्रतिषेध इति ।

As to the statement made at first *śi sarvanāmasthānam suḍ anapuṁsakasya iti cēt jasi pratiṣēdhḥaḥ.*

न, अप्रतिषेधात्

No, since it is not *prasajya-pratiṣēdha.*

नायं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः नपुंसकस्य न इति ।

This (*anapuṁsakasya*) is not *prasajya-pratiṣēdha* of the form *napuṁsakasya na*.

किं तर्हि ?

What then ?

पर्युदासोऽयं, यदन्यत् नपुंसकात् इति ।

It is *paryudāsa* of the form *napuṁsakāt anyat*.

नपुंसके न व्यापारः । यदि केनचित् प्राप्नोति तेन भविष्यति । पूर्वेण च प्राप्नोति ।

There is no action in *napuṁsaka*. It takes place with that which fits it. It takes place with what precedes.

अप्राप्तेर्वा

Or through *aprāpti*.

अथवा अनन्तरा या प्राप्तिः सा निषिध्यते ।

Or that which immediately precedes is open to *niṣēdha*.

कुत एतत् ?

How is this ?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा इति ।

Vidhi or *pratiṣēdha* takes place to what immediately precedes.

पूर्वा प्राप्तिरप्रतिषिद्धा, तया भविष्यति ।

That which is first obtained is not prohibited and hence it (*śi*) gets it.

ननु चेयं प्राप्तिः पूर्वां प्राप्तिं बाधते ।

Or this *prāpti* sets at naught the previous *prāpti*.

नोत्सहते प्रतिषिद्धा सती बाधितुम् ।

That which undergoes *pratiṣēdha* cannot set at naught another.

यदप्युच्यते असमर्थसमासश्चायं द्रष्टव्यः इति । यद्यपि वक्तव्योऽथवैतर्हि बहूनि प्रयोजनानि । असूर्यंपश्यानि मुखानि, अपुनर्गेयाः श्लोकाः, अश्राद्धभोजी ब्राह्मण इति ।

With reference to the statement mentioned that this should be seen as *asamarthasamāsa*, it is true; there are now many *prayōjanas* for it:—*asūryampaśyāni mukhāni, apunargēyāḥ ślōkāḥ, aśrāddhabhōjī brāhmaṇaḥ*.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* says that, since the *Sūtrakāra* has read *anapuṁsakasya* instead of *strīpuṁsayōḥ*, he opines that there is *prasajyapratiṣēdha*.

न वेति विभाषा (1, 1, 44)

There are *five* topics dealt with here. They are: (1) the significance of the term *iti* in the *sūtra*; (2) and (3) *na vā* is is not used as one word in the sense of *new* or *pratiṣēdha*, (4) the *pratyākhyāna* of the *sūtra* after mentioning the defects and (5) the description of three kinds of *vibhāṣās* -*prāptavibhāṣā, aparāptavibhāṣā* and *ubhayatravibhāṣā* found in grammar.

I

न वेति विभाषायामर्थसंज्ञाकरणम्

The need to mention that *artha* (and not *śabda*) gets the *saṁjñā* in the *sūtra Na vēti vibhāṣā*.

न वेति विभाषायामर्थस्य संज्ञा कर्तव्या, न वा शब्दस्य योऽर्थः तस्य संज्ञा भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

It is necessary that *saṁjñā* should be given to *artha* in the *sūtra Na vēti vibhāṣā* and it should be said that the *saṁjñā* reaches that which is the meaning of *navāśabda*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What for ?

शब्दसंज्ञायां ह्यर्थासंप्रत्ययः यथान्यत्र

If the *saṁjñā* is to *śabda*, it cannot reach *artha* as elsewhere.

शब्दसंज्ञायां हि सत्यामर्थस्यासंप्रत्ययः स्यात् । यथा अन्यत्र, अन्यत्रापि हि शब्दसंज्ञायां शब्दस्य संप्रत्ययो भवति, नार्थस्य ।

For, if the *saṁjñā* is to *śabda*, the desired meaning is not obtained as elsewhere; for the *saṁjñā* given elsewhere to *śabda* refers only to *śabda* and not to *artha*.

क्वान्यत्र ?

Which does elsewhere refer to ?

दाधा घ्वदाप्, तरप्तमपौ घः इति । घुग्रहणेषु घग्रहणेषु च शब्दस्य संप्रत्ययो भवति नार्थस्य ।

The *sūtras Dādhā ghvadāp, Taraptamapāu ghaḥ*. Wherever *ghu* and *gha* are mentioned, they refer to only *śabdas* (like *dā, dhā, tarap, tamap* etc.) and not to their meaning.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् ।

It is then to be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यम् ।

No, it need not be mentioned.

इतिकरणोऽर्थनिर्देशार्थः

The use of the word *iti* is only to denote *artha*.

इतिकरणः क्रियते, सोऽर्थनिर्देशार्थो भविष्यति ।

The word *iti* is read there and it is to make *navā* refer to *artha* (and not to *śabda*).

किं गतमेतदितिना, आहोस्वित् शब्दाधिक्यादर्थाधिक्यम् ?

Is it denoted by the word *iti* or is the extension of meaning done through the use of the additional word ?

गतमित्याह

It is denoted, says he.

कुतः ?

How ?

लोकतः

From the world.

तद्यथा — लोके गौरित्ययमाह इति गोशब्दादितिकरणः प्रयुज्यमानः गोशब्दं स्वस्मात् पदार्थात् प्रच्यावयति ; सोऽसौ स्वस्मात् पदार्थात् प्रच्युतः या असावर्थपदार्थकता तस्याः, शब्दपदार्थकः सम्पद्यते । एवमिहापि नवाशब्दादितिकरणः परः प्रयुज्यमानः नवाशब्दं स्वस्मात् पदार्थात् प्रच्यावयति । सोऽसौ स्वस्मात् पदार्थात् प्रच्युतः यासौ शब्दपदार्थकता तस्या लौकिकमर्थं सम्प्रत्याययति नवेति यद्गम्यते नवेति यत्प्रतीयते इति ।

It is thus :—In the sentence *gāuḥ iti ayam āha* used in the world, the word *iti* used after the word *gāuḥ* enables the word *gāuḥ* not to denote its original meaning ; it, being allowed to slip from denoting its original meaning the *artha*, is made to denote the *word gāuḥ*. So also here the word *iti* used after *navā* enables it to slip from denoting its original meaning ; it, being allowed to slip from denoting its original meaning–the *śabda*, is made to denote its meaning current in the world (*i.e.*) that which is meant by *navā* or that which is suggested by *navā*.

Note: It deserves to be clearly understood that there is difference in the denotation of words between the world and the grammar. If one says in the world *gāuḥ*, it refers to the *object* which goes by the name of *cow;* on the other hand, the same word, if used in grammar, refers to the word which is made up of the sounds *g*, *āu* and *visarga*. That is why the *Sūtrakāra* reads the *sūtra Svam rūpam śabdasya aśabdasaṁjñā*. If, in the world, one wants to refer to the word *gāuḥ*, he has to say *gāuḥ iti*; similarly if, in grammar, one wants to refer to the object *gāuḥ*, he has to say *gāuḥ iti.* Hence there is the saying of the elders '*iti-śabdaḥ padārtha-viprayāsakṛt*'.

II

समानशब्दप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *arthas* denoted by words of the same form.

समानशब्दानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, नवा कुण्डिका नवा घटिका इति ।

Prohibition of *arthas* denoted by words of the same form as the *artha* of *newness* in *navā kuṇḍikā* and *navā ghaṭikā* need be mentioned.

किं च स्याद् यद्येतेषामपि विभाषासंज्ञा स्यात्?

What will happen if these also get the *saṁjñā vibhāṣā?*

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ — दक्षिणपूर्वस्यां शालायाम् अचिरकृतायां संप्रत्ययः स्यात् ।

The word *dakṣiṇapūrvasyām* in the phrase *dakṣiṇapūrvasyām śālāyām* which is obtained on the strength of the *sūtra Vibhāṣā diksamāsē bahuvrīhāu* will be made to denote *recently made.*

न वा विधिपूर्वकत्वात् प्रतिषेधसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके

Not necessary; *vidhi* preceding, it can mean only *pratiṣēdha*, as is in the world.

न वैष दोषः

This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्?

Why?

विधिपूर्वकत्वात्, विधाय किञ्चिन्नवेत्युच्यते, तेन प्रतिषेधवाचिनः संप्रत्ययो भवति । तद्यथा लोके ग्रामो भवता गन्तव्यो न वा । नेति गम्यते ।

Since it is preceded by a *vidhi*; the expression *navā* is used only after something is enjoined and hence it can mean only *niṣēdha*, as is found in the sentence current in the world. Are you to go to the village? *Navā*? Here *navā* refers to *pratiṣēdha*.

अस्ति कारणं येन नवा इति लोके प्रतिषेधवाचिनः संप्रत्ययो भवति ।

There is a reason for interpreting *navā* to mean *pratiṣēdha* in the world.

किं कारणम्?

What is the reason?

विलिङ्गं हि भवाँल्लोके निर्देशं करोति । अङ्ग! हि समानलिङ्गो निर्देशः क्रियतां, प्रत्यग्रवाचिनः सम्प्रत्ययो भविष्यति — तद्यथा ग्रामो भवता गन्तव्यो नवः — प्रत्यग्र इति गम्यते ।

For you state an unworldly expression—*navā* and *gantavyaḥ* are of different genders. Dear sir, please give out an expression where, they are of the same gender and it will evidently mean *newness*. For example the word *nava* in the sentence *grāmō bhavatā gantavyō navaḥ* means only *pratyagra*.

Note: The humour in the method of presentation above deserves to be noted.

एतच्चैव न जानीमः कचिद्व्याकरणे समानलिङ्गो निर्देशः क्रियते इति ।

We do not know this where *nava* is used in *Vyākaraṇa* in the same gender as the word with which it is associated.

अपि चात्र कामचारः प्रयोक्तुः शब्दानामभिसम्बन्धे । तद्यथा यवागूर्भवता भोक्तव्या नवा, यदा यवागूशब्दो भुजिना सम्बध्यते भुजिर्नवाशब्देन तदा प्रतिषेधवाचिनः सम्प्रत्ययो भवति — यवागूर्भवता भोक्तव्या न वा; नेति गम्यते । यदा तु यवागूशब्दो नवाशब्देन अभिसम्बध्यते न भुजिना, तदा प्रत्यग्रवाचिनः सम्प्रत्ययो भवति, यथा यवागूर्नवा भवता भोक्तव्या; प्रत्यग्रेति गम्यते । न चेह वयं विभाषाग्रहणेन सर्वादीन्यभिसंबध्नीमः — दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ सर्वादीनि विभाषा भवन्ति इति । किं तर्हि? भवतिरभिसंबध्यते, दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ सर्वादीनि भवन्ति विभाषा इति ।

Besides the speaker is at liberty to fix the relationship of words in a sentence. For instance, if, in the sentence *yavāgūḥ bhavatā bhōktavyā navā,* the word *yavāgū* is made to go with the verb *bhuj* and *bhuj* with *navā, navā* means *pratiṣēdha* so that the sentence means "Are you to eat *yavāgū* or not?" If, on the other hand, *yavāgū* is taken with *navā* and not with *bhuj, navā* means *newness* so that the sentence means "The fresh *yavāgū* has to be eaten by you". We do not here take *vibhāṣā* with *sarvādi* so that the *sūtra* may mean, in *diksamāsa* of *bahuvrīhi sarvādis* become *vibhāṣā.* How then? *Vibhāṣā* is taken along with the root *bhū* so that the *sūtra* means *sarvādis* in *diksamāsa* of *bahuvrīhi* take the *saṁjñā* optionally.

III

त्रिध्यनित्यत्वमनुपपन्नं, प्रतिषेधसंज्ञाकरणात्

Inappropriateness of the *anityatva* of *vidhi* on account of the *pratiṣēdha* (the meaning of *navā,* taken as one word) being given a *saṁjñā.*

विधेरनित्यत्वं नोपपद्यते — शुशाव शुशुवतुः शुशुवुः, शिश्वाय शिश्वयतुः शिश्वयुः ।

The *anityatva* of the general *vidhi* is not possible with reference to the forms of the root *śvi* in *liṭ*, so that the optional forms *śuśāva*, *śuśuvatuḥ* and *śuśuvuḥ* cannot replace *śiśvāya*, *śiśvayatuḥ* and *śiśvayuḥ* (since the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā śvēḥ* will have to be taken to denote *niṣēdha*).

किं कारणम्? Why?

प्रतिषेधसंज्ञाकरणात्; प्रतिषेधस्येयं संज्ञा क्रियते; तेन विभाषाप्रदेशेषु प्रतिषेधस्यैव संप्रत्ययः स्यात् ।

On account of *saṁjñā* being given to *pratiṣēdha*; this *saṁjñā* is given to *pratiṣēdha* and consequently in places where the word *vibhāṣā* is found, it should be taken to denote *niṣēdha*.

सिद्धं तु प्रसज्य प्रतिषेधात्

It is accomplished on account of *pratiṣēdha* being mentioned to what has already been enjoined.

सिद्धमेतत्

This is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

प्रसज्य प्रतिषेधात्; प्रसज्य किञ्चिन्नवेत्युच्यते तेनोभयं भविष्यति ।

On account of *pratiṣēdha* to what has been enjoined; having enjoined one, it is said that there is *pratiṣēdha* to it and hence both the forms may be used.

विप्रतिषिद्धं तु

One conflicting against another.

विप्रतिषिद्धं तु भवति । अत्र न विज्ञायते केनाभिप्रायेण प्रसजति केन निवृत्तिं करोति इति ।

Oh, there is conflict. It is not known here why one is enjoined and why it is set at naught.

न वा, प्रसङ्गसामर्थ्याद् अन्यत्र प्रतिषेधविषयात्

This (conflict) need not be; one form on the strength of *vidhisūtra* and another on the strength of *pratiṣēdhasūtra*.

न वैष दोषः

This difficulty need not stand.

किं कारणम् ?

How ?

प्रसङ्गसामर्थ्यात् — प्रसङ्गसामर्थ्याच्च विधिर्भविष्यति अन्यत्र प्रतिषेधविषयात् ।

On the basis of the *vidhisūtra* ; on the basis of the *vidhisūtra*, the *vidhi* form makes its appearance except where *pratiṣēdhasūtra* operates.

प्रतिषेधसामर्थ्याच्च प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति अन्यत्र विधिविषयात् ।

On the basis of the *pratiṣēdhasūtra*, the *pratiṣēdha* form other than the *vidhi* form makes its appearance.

तदेतत् क सिद्धं भवति ?

Where is this accomplished ?

या अप्राप्ते विभाषा

Where there is *vibhāṣā* to one which has not been enjoined.

या हि प्राप्ते विभाषा कृतसामर्थ्यस्तत्र पूर्वेण विधिरिति कृत्वा प्रतिषेधस्यैव संप्रत्ययः स्यात् ।

Where there is *vibhāṣā* to one which has already been enjoined, the *vidhi* is got by the previous rule and the *pratiṣēdha* alone is meant by the other

एतदपि सिद्धम्

This too is accomplished (by other means).

कथम्? How?

विभाषेति महती संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत्? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणे एतत् प्रयोजनम्—उभयोः संज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत नेति च वेति च । तत्र या तावदप्राप्ते विभाषा, तत्र प्रतिषेध्यं नास्तीति कृत्वा वा इत्यनेन विकल्पो भविष्यति; या हि प्राप्ते विभाषा तत्र उभयम् उपस्थितं भवति, नेति च वेति च; तत्र नेत्यनेन प्रतिषिद्धे वेत्यनेन विकल्पो भविष्यति ।

A long *saṁjñā*, *vibhāṣā* by name, is given. *Saṁjñā* is always in a form than which nothing is shorter. Why is it said so? The ease of *śāstrapravṛtti* is the motive for *saṁjñākaraṇa*. The benefit of giving a long *saṁjñā* there is that it should comprehend both—*niṣēdha* and *vikalpa*. Where there is *vibhāṣā* with reference to *aprāpta*, *vikalpa* takes place there, since there is nothing to be prohibited and where there is *vibhāṣā* for what is *prāpta*, both begin to operate—the *pratiṣēdha* and the *vikalpa*; after it is *pratiṣiddha* by *na iti*, it takes *vikalpa* by *vā iti*.

एवमपि

विधिप्रतिषेधयोर्युगपद्वचनानुपपत्तिः

Even then the inappropriateness of the mention of *vidhi* and *pratiṣēdha* at the same time.

विधिप्रतिषेधयोर्युगपद्वचनं नोपपद्यते; शुशाव शुशुवतुः, शुशुवुः, शिश्वाय शिश्वियतुः शिश्वियुः ।

Mention of *vidhi* and *pratiṣēdha* at the same time is inappropriate—*śuśāva śuśuvatuḥ śuśuvuḥ*, *śiśvāyā śiśviyatuḥ śiśviyuḥ*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

भवतीति चेन्न प्रतिषेधः

If it comes, it cannot be prohibited.

भवतीति चेत् प्रतिषेधो न प्राप्नोति ।

If it comes, *pratiṣēdha* cannot come there.

नेति चेन्न विधिः

No *vidhi* where there is *pratiṣēdha.*

नेति चेद् विधिर्न सिध्यति

If there is *pratiṣēdha, vidhi* cannot be accomplished.

सिद्धं तु पूर्वस्योत्तरेण बाधितत्वात्

It is accomplished since the former is set at naught by the latter.

सिद्धमेतत्

The object is achieved.

कथम्? How?

पूर्वविधिमुत्तरो विधिर्बाधते

The following rule sets at naught the preceding rule.

इतिकरणो अर्थनिर्देशार्थ इत्युक्तम्

It has been said that the mention of the word *iti* (in the *sūtra*) is to denote the *artha*.

IV

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् शास्त्रे यस्य विभाषा तस्य साधुत्वम्

Correctness of the *vibhāṣā* with reference to any one in this *śāstra* which mentions only correct words.

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् शास्त्रे यस्य विभाषा क्रियते स विभाषा साधुः स्यात् । समासश्चैव हि विभाषा क्रियते, तेन समासस्यैव विभाषा साधुत्वं स्यात् ।

The *vibhāṣā* mentioned with reference to anything will become optionally in this *śāstra* dealing with grammatically correct words. *Vibhāṣā* is mentioned with reference to *samāsa* and hence *samāsa* will become correct and incorrect.

Note: In the *samāsaprakaraṇa* there is a *sūtra Vibhāṣā* (2, 1, 11), by which it is generally understood that *samāsa* is not obligatory and the same idea may be expressed through the *vigrahavākya*. According to the above *vārttika*, the *vigrahavākya* alone will be considered correct and not *samāsa*.

अस्तु; यः साधुः स प्रयोक्ष्यते; असाधुर्न प्रयोक्ष्यते ।

Let it be; that which is correct is made use of and that which is incorrect is not made use of.

न चैव हि कदाचिद् राजपुरुष इत्येतस्यामवस्थायाम् असाधुत्वमिष्यते ।

But nowhere in the history of language was *rājapuruṣa* as a *samāsa* considered incorrect.

द्वैधाऽप्रतिपत्तिः

Non-accomplishment of two-fold forms.

द्वैधं शब्दानामप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् । इच्छामश्च पुनर्विभाषाप्रदेशेषु द्वैधं शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् इति । तच्च न सिध्यति; यस्य पुनः कार्याः शब्दाः, विभाषासौ समासं निवर्तयति ।

The two-fold use of *śabdas* cannot be accomplished. We desire that in places of *vibhāṣā* there may be two kinds of use of *śabdas*. That is not accomplished; according to him who accepts the theory that *śabda* is *kārya*, the *vibhāṣā* sets at naught the *samāsa*

यस्यापि नित्याः शब्दाः तस्याप्येष न दोषः ।

Even according to him who holds the theory that *śabda* is *nitya*, this difficulty does not arise.

कथम्? How?

न विभाषाग्रहणेन साधुत्वमभिसम्बध्यते

Mention of *vibhāṣā* has nothing to do with the *sādhutva* or correctness of expression.

किं तर्हि?

With what then?

समाससंज्ञा अभिसम्बध्यते, समास इत्येषा संज्ञा विभाषा भवति इति।

Vibhāṣā goes with *samāsasaṁjñā* so that it means that *samāsasaṁjñā* is optional.

तद्यथा — मेध्यः पशुर्विभाषितो मेध्योऽनड्वान् विभाषित इति। नैतद्विचार्यते अनड्वाननड्वानिति। किं तर्हि? आलब्धव्यो नालब्धव्य इति।

It may be illustrated by the following: It is said '*mēdhyaḥ pasuḥ vibhāṣitō mēdhyō anaḍvān vibhāṣitaḥ*'. It is not discussed here whether it is to *anaḍvān* or *non-anaḍvān* but whether it is to be tied to the stake or not.

कार्येषु युगपदन्वाचययौगपद्यम्

If *śabda* is taken be *kārya*, there is a chance for a number of suffixes to be attached at the same time.

कार्येषु शब्देषु, तस्य युगपद्वचनता प्राप्नोति; तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः, ढक् च मण्डूकात् इति।

If *śabdas* are *kārya*, they are prone to get a number of suffixes at the same time. For instance *tavya* and *anīya* may be added simultaneously to verbal roots on the strength of the *sūtra Tavyattavyānīyaraḥ* (3, 1, 93) and the suffixes *ḍhak*, *aṇ* and *iñ* may be attached to the word *maṇḍūka* on the strength of the *sūtra Ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt* (4, 1, 119).

यस्य पुनर्नित्याः शब्दाः, प्रयुक्तानामसौ साधुत्वमन्वाचष्टे ।

For him who holds that *śabdas* are *nitya*, these *sūtras* reiterate their correctness.

ननु च यस्यापि कार्याः तस्याप्येष न दोषः ।

Oh, the difficulty above mentioned does not arise even to him who holds that *śabdas* are *kārya*.

कथम्? How?

प्रत्ययः परो भवति इति उच्यते । न चैकस्याः प्रकृतेः अनेकस्य प्रत्ययस्य युगपत् परत्वेन सम्भवोऽस्ति ।

It is said that *pratyaya* is suffixed and it is not possible for many *pratyayas* to be suffixed simultaneously to one *prakṛti.*

नापि ब्रूमः प्रत्ययमाला प्राप्नोति इति ।

We do not say that all the *pratyayas* have a chance to be knitted one over another.

किं तर्हि?

What then?

कर्तव्यम् इति प्रयोक्तव्ये युगपद् द्वितीयस्य तृतीयस्य च प्रयोगः प्राप्नोति च।

When one tries to use the first *prayōga kartavya*, the other two—the second and the third will offer themselves.

नैष दोषः । अर्थगत्यर्थः शब्दप्रयोगः; अर्थं संप्रत्याययिष्यामि इति शब्दः प्रयुज्यते; तत्र एकेनोक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम्, उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति ।

There is no room for this difficulty. Usage of words is to make another understand the meaning; word is used with the desire of making another understand his idea; since that idea has been expressed once, the second expression cannot offer itself since the idea once expressed need not be repeated.

आचार्यदेशशीलने च तद्विषयता

Restriction to it where there is mention of any *ācārya* or country.

आचार्यशीलनेन च देशशीलनेन च यदुच्यते, तस्य तद्विषयता प्राप्नोति । 'इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य' 'प्राचामवृद्धात् फिन् बहुलम्' इति गालवा एव ह्रस्वान् प्रयुञ्जीरन्, प्राक्षु चैव हि फिन् स्यात् । तद्यथा जमदग्निर्वा एतत्पञ्चममवदानमवाद्यत् । तस्मान्न अजामदग्न्यः पञ्चावत्तं जुहोति ।

That which is mentioned pertaining to any *ācārya* or *dēśa*, it will be restricted there. Since there is the mention of the *ācārya*, *Gālava* in the *sūtra Ikō hrasvōṅyō gālavasya* (6, 3, 61) his followers will use only *hrasva* and since there is the mention of *prācām* in the *sūtra Prācām avṛddhāt phin bahulam* (4, 1, 160), *phin* will be used only in the eastern country. The following may serve as an illustration: *Jamadagni* had five *avadānas* and hence one who does not belong to his family should not take recourse to it.

यस्य पुनर्नित्याः शब्दाः, गालवग्रहणं तस्य पूजार्थं देशग्रहणं च कीर्त्यर्थम् ।

On the other hand, mention of *Gālava* is for honor and that of *dēśa* is for fame to him who holds that *śabdas* are *nitya*.

ननु च यस्यापि कार्याः शब्दाः तस्यापि गालवग्रहणं पूजार्थं स्याद् देशग्रहणं च कीर्त्यर्थम् ।

Oh, even to him who holds that *śabdas* are *kārya*, mention of *Gālava* is for honour and that of *dēsa* is for fame.

तत्कीर्तने च द्वैधाऽप्रतिपत्तिः

On their mention non-existence of two-fold use.

तत्कीर्तने च द्वैधं शब्दानामप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् । इच्छामश्च पुनराचार्यग्रहणेषु देशग्रहणेषु च द्वैधं शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तिः स्याद् इति, तच्च न सिध्यति ।

On mentioning them the two-fold use of words cannot happen. We wish that through the *sūtras* where mention of

any *ācārya* or *dēśa* is done, the two-fold use should be done; but it cannot be accomplished.

अशिष्यो वा विदितत्वात्

Or the *sūtra* need not be read since it is (otherwise) known.

अशिष्यो वा पुनरयं योगः

Or this *sūtra* may not, as well, be read.

किं कारणम्? Why?

विदितत्वात्—यदनेन योगेन प्रार्थ्यते तस्यार्थस्य विदितत्वात् ।

Since it is known—the object which is sought by this *sūtra* is already known.

येऽपि ह्येतां संज्ञां नारभन्ते तेऽपि विभाषा इत्युक्ते अनित्यत्वमवगच्छन्ति । याज्ञिकाः खल्वपि संज्ञामनारभमाणा विभाषा इत्युक्ते अनित्यत्वमवगच्छन्ति । तद्यथा मेध्यः पशुर्विभाषितो मेध्योऽनड्वान् विभाषितः इति । आलब्धव्यो नालब्धव्य इति गम्यते । आचार्यः खल्वपि संज्ञामारभमाणो भूयिष्ठमन्यैरपि शब्दैरेतमर्थं संप्रत्याययति—बहुलम्, अन्यतरस्याम्, उभयथा, वा, एकेषाम् इति ।

Those who have not mentioned this *saṁjñā* understand that the word *vibhāṣā* suggests *anityatva* (non-implicit occurring). *Yājñikas* too, who do not resort to this *saṁjñā* understand the same (*i e.*) that the mention of the word *vibhāṣā* suggests *anityatva*. For instance, from the statement *Mēdhyaḥ paśur vibhāṣitō mēdhyōsnaḍvān vibhāṣitaḥ*, it is understood whether it is to be tied to the stake or not. *Ācārya Pāṇini* too who has taken recourse to this *saṁjñā* expresses the same idea mostly through other expressions like *bahulam*, *anyatarasyām*, *ubhayathā*, *vā*, *ēkēṣām*.

Note: *Kāiyaṭa* says that the *sūtra* is necessary with reference to *ubhayatravibhāṣā*, if *ākṛtipakṣa* is adhered to and it is unnecessary if *vyaktipakṣa* is adhered to.

Bhaṭṭōjidīkṣita says in his *Śabdakāustubha* that this *sūtra* is unnecessary even when *ākṛtipakṣa* is adhered to through certain adjustments. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* agrees with the latter.

अप्राप्ते

In *aprāptavibhāṣā.*

इत उत्तरं या विभाषा अनुक्रमिष्यामः अप्राप्ते ता द्रष्टव्याः

The *vibhāṣās* which were subsequently going to be dealt with have to be taken to refer to *aprāpta.*

Note : *Aprāptē* is an *adhikāra-vārttika.*

त्रिसंशयाः

The *vibhāṣās* are prone to have doubts with reference to three.

त्रिसंशयास्तु भवन्ति, प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वा इति ।

They are liable to be interpreted in three ways, whether they are *prāptē-vibhāṣās, aprāptē-vibhāṣās* or *ubhayatra-vibhāṣās.*

द्वन्द्वे च विभाषा जसि

In the *vibhāṣā* with reference to *jas* read after the *sūtra Dvandvē ca* (1, 1, 31).

द्वन्द्वे च विभाषा जसि प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वा इति सन्देहः

There is the doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* with reference to *jas* read after the *sūtra Dvandvē ca* is *prāptē-vibhāṣā, aprāptē-vibhāṣā* or *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā.*

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वा अप्राप्ते कथं वा उभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it liable to be taken as *prāptē-vibhāṣā,* under which circumstances as *aprāptē-vibhāṣā* and under which circumstances as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā* ?

उभयशब्दः सर्वादिषु पठ्यते । तयपश्चायजादेशः क्रियते । तेन वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते, उभयत्र वा इति ।

The word *ubhaya* is read in the *sarvādi* list. [The word ending in *tayap* takes *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* optionally by the *sūtra Prathama - carama - taya - alpa - ardha - katipaya - nēmāśca* (1, 1, 33) and *tayap* is enjoined by the *sūtra Saṅkhyāyā avayavē tayap* (5, 2, 42) and *ayac* is enjoined to *ubha* by the *sūtra Ubhād udāttō nityam* (5, 2, 44).] *Tayap* takes the *ādēsa ayac*. If *ubhaya* is allowed to take *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* by the *sūtra Sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* and *ayac* is taken to be the *ādēsa* of *tayap*, the *saṁjñā* has already been *prāpta* and this *sūtra Prathama*... (1, 1, 33) simply negates that *saṁjñā* and consequently this *sūtra* (1, 1, 33) becomes *prāptēvibhāṣā*. If *ayac* is not taken to be the *ādēsa* of *tayap* by not taking the letter from 5, 2, 42 by *anuvṛtti*, the *vibhāṣā* enjoined by this rule (1, 1, 33) has nothing to do with the word *ubhaya* and hence it is *aprāptēvibhāṣā*, If *ayac* is taken to be the *ādēsa* of *tayap* and the *sūtra Prathama*... (1, 1, 33) is made to over-rule *Sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* (1, 1, 27) by the *paribhāṣā Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*, the *vibhāṣā* 1, 1, 33 becomes *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*.

अप्राप्ते, अयच् प्रत्ययान्तरम्

This *vibhāṣā* is an *aprāptēvibhāṣā*; for *ayac* is a *pratyaya* not connected with *tayap*.

यदि प्रत्ययान्तरम्, उभयीति ईकारो न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is a *pratyaya* not related to *tayap*, *ṅīp* has no opportunity to appear in *ubhayī* (by the *sūtra ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*... *mātrac-tayap*... (4, 1, 15)

मा भूदेवं, मात्रच् इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

Ṅīp may not make its appearance on the basis of *ayac* being an *ādēśa* of *tayap*, but it appears on the basis of *mātrac* in the same *sūtra*.

कथम्? How?

मात्रच् इति नेदं प्रत्ययग्रहणम्

The word *mātrac* does not denote the *pratyaya*.

किं तर्हि?

What then does it denote?

प्रत्याहारग्रहणम्

It denotes the *pratyāhāra*.

क सन्निविष्टानां प्रत्याहारः?

Where are the words mentioned whose *pratyāhāra* it is?

मात्रशब्दात्प्रभृति आयचश्चकारात्

From the word *mātra* found in *Pramāṇē dvayasajdaghnañ mātracaḥ* (5, 2, 37) to the *c* in *ayac* in the *sūtra Dvitribhyām tayasyāyajvā* (5, 2, 43)

यदि प्रत्याहारग्रहणं कति तिष्ठन्ति अत्रापि प्राप्नोति।

If it is taken as a *pratyāhāra*, *ṅīp* may come to *kati* in the sentence *kati tiṣṭhanti*, since *ḍati* is between *mātra* and *ayac*.

अतः इति वर्तते

The word *ataḥ* is taken to that *sūtra* from *Ajādyataṣṭāp* (4, 1, 4).

एवमपि तैलमात्रा घृतमात्रा अत्रापि प्राप्नोति।

If so, *ṅīp* may appear in *tāilamātrā* and *ghṛtamātrā* where *tran* has been suffixed to *mā* by the *uṇādisūtra Hu-yā-mā-sru-bhasibhyastran* (617).

सदृशस्यापि असन्निविष्टस्य न भविष्यति प्रत्याहारेण ग्रहणम्।

Pratyāhāra does not take within its range similar words which are not found in the list.

ऊर्णोर्विभाषा

Doubt in *ūrṇōr vibhāṣā*.

ऊर्णोर्विभाषा प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* enjoined by the *sūtra* *Vibhāṣōrṇōḥ* (1, 2, 3) is *prāptēvibhāṣā*, *aprāptēvibhāṣā* or *ubhayatravibhāṣā*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

असंयोगाल्लिट् कित् इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वा इति ।

If the *sūtra* *Vibhāṣōrṇōḥ* (1, 2, 3) is taken as far as the *sūtra* *Asamyōgāt liṭ kit* (1, 2, 5), since *kittvam* is obtained by the latter, it is optionally negated by the former and hence the *vibhāṣā* in the former is *prāptē vibhāṣā*. If the dictum *vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam* is adopted, the fifth *sūtra* sets at naught the third *sūtra* and hence *vibhāṣā* in the third *sūtra* is *aprāptē vibhāṣā*. If, on the other hand, the dictum *vipratiṣēdhē pūrvam kāryam* is adopted, the fifth *sūtra* has no opportunity to operate and hence the *vibhāṣā* in the third *sūtra* is *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*.

अप्राप्ते, अन्यद्धि कित्त्वम् अन्यत् ङित्त्वम्

It is only *aprāptē vibhāṣā* since *kit* is different from *ṅit*.

एकं चेत् ङित्कितौ

If *ṅit* and *kit* are one.

यद्येकं ङित्कितौ ततोऽस्ति सन्देहः

If *ṅit* and *kit* are one, there is doubt.

अथ हि नाना, नास्ति सन्देहः

If they are different, there is no doubt.

यद्यपि नाना एवमपि सन्देहः

Even if they are different, there is the doubt

कथम्? How?

प्रौर्णुवीति

With reference to the form *prāurṇuvīti.*

सार्वधातुकमपित् इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वा इति ।

Prāptē-vibhāṣa, *aprāptē-vibhāṣā* and *ubhayatravibhāṣā* may be explained if we take *sārvadhātukam apit* (1, 2, 4) in place of *asaṁyōgāt liṭ kit* (1, 2, 5).

अप्राप्ते

The *vibhāṣā* is only *aprāptē vibhāṣā*.

विभाषोपयमने

Doubt in *Vibhāṣōpayamanē* (1, 2, 16).

विभाषोपयमने प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वा इति सन्देहः

There is doubt whether *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra* *Vibhāṣōpayamānē* is *prāptē*, *apraptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं चोभयत्र?

In which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*?

गन्धन इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with the *sūtra* *Yamō gandhanē* (1, 2, 15) it is *prāptēvibhāṣā*; it is *aprāptē* thro' the dictum *vipratiṣēdhē pūrvam kāryam* and it is *ubhayatra* thro' the dictum *vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*.

अप्राप्ते, गन्धन इति निवृत्तम्

It is *aprāptē* since *gandhana* is not taken with the latter.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा

Doubt in *Anupasargād vā*.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether *vā* in the *sūtra Anupasargād vā* is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं वा प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

In which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः इति च नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with the *sūtra Vṛtti-sarga-tāyanēṣu-kramaḥ* (1, 3, 38), it is *prāptē*; it is *aprāptē* through the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē pūrvam kāryam* and it is *ubhayatra* through the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē param karyam*.

अप्राप्ते, वृत्त्यादिषु इति निवृत्तम्

It is *aprāptē* since *vṛttisargatāyanēṣu* has no *anuvṛtti* in the *sūtra Anupasargād vā* (1, 3, 43).

विभाषा वृक्षमृगादीनाम्

Doubt in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā vṛkṣa-mṛga-tṛṇadhānya-vyañja-napaśu-śakuni-aśva-vaḍavapūrvāpara-adharōttarāṇām* (2, 4, 12).

विभाषा वृक्षमृगादीनाम्, प्राप्ते, अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā arkṣamṛga* ... (2, 4, 12) is *prāptē*, *dprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते कथं वाप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra ?*

जातिरप्राणिनामिति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with the *sūtra Jātir aprāṇinām* (2, 4, 6), it is *prāptē*; it is *aprāptē* thro' the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē pūrvam kāryam* and it is *ubhayatra* thro' the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam.*

Note : If *vibhāṣā sūtra* is to be taken along with *jātir-aprāṇinām*, *vṛkṣa* etc. should be taken to refer to dead objects.

अप्राप्ते, जातिरप्राणिनामिति निवृत्तम्

It is *aprāptē* since it is not taken together with *jātir-aprāṇinām.*

उषविद्जागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्

Doubt in the *sūtra Uṣa-vida-jāgṛbhyōऽnyatarasyām.*

उषविद्जागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्, प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether *anyatarasyām* in the *sūtra Uṣavida*... (3, 1, 38) is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

प्रत्ययान्तादिति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *pratyayānta* referred to in the *sūtra Kāspratyayād ām amantrē liṭi* (3, 1, 35), it is *prāptē.* Through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* it is *aprāptē* and through *paravipratiṣēdha* it is *ubhayatra.*

Note : *Uṣ* and *vid* are taken here as *kvibanta.*

अप्राप्ते । प्रत्ययान्ता धात्वन्तराणि ।

It is *aprāptē*, since those that are *pratyayāntas* are different from the original roots.

Note : *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that *ācārakvip* does not come after a root ending in a consonant. Hence the *sūtra* *Kāspratyayād...* has nothing to do here. Hence *anyatarasyām* is *aprāptē*.

दीपादीनां विभाषा

Doubt with reference to *vibhāṣā* in *dīpādi*.

दीपादीनां विभाषा प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt with reference to *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra* *Dīpa-jana-budha-pūritāyipyāyibhyōsnyatarasyām* (3, 1, 61), whether it is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

भावकर्मणोः इति वा नित्यं प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with the *sūtra* *Ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇōḥ* (3, 1, 66), it is *prāptē* ; through the dictum *vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*, it is *aprāptē* and through the dictum *vipratiṣēdhē pūrvam kāryam*, it is *ubhayatra*.

अप्राप्ते, कर्तरि इति हि वर्तते ।

It is *aprāptē*, since it has to do with the active voice (*kartari-prayōga*).

एवमपि सन्देहः, न्याय्ये वा कर्तरि, कर्मकर्तरि वा इति ।

Even then there is the doubt whether it is in actual *kartari-prayōga* or *karma-kartari-prayōga*.

नास्ति सन्देहः । सकर्मकस्य कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति अकर्मकाश्च दीपादयः ।

There is no doubt, since the *kartā* of a transitive verb alone becomes *karmavat* and *dīp* etc. are intransitive verbs.

अकर्मका अपि वै सोपसर्गाः सकर्मका भवन्ति ।

Even intransitive verbs become transitive if they are preceded by prepositions.

कर्मापदिष्टा विधयः कर्मस्थभावकानां कर्मस्थक्रियाणां वा भवन्ति; कर्तृस्थभावकाश्च दीपादयः।

Rules on *karmātidēśa* are concerned with *karmasthabhāva* or *karmasthakriyā*; *dīpādis* have to do only with *kartṛstha-bhāva*.

विभाषाग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु

Doubt in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā agrēprathamapūrvēṣu* (3, 4, 24).

विभाषा अग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā agrē prathamapūrvēṣu* is *aprāptē*, *prāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते कथं वा अप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*?

आभीक्ष्ण्ये इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति।

If it is taken along with *Ābhikṣṇyē ṇamul ca* (3, 4, 22), it is *prāptē*; through the dictum *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* it is *aprāptē* and through the dictum *paravipratiṣēdha* it is *ubhayatra*.

अप्राप्ते, आभीक्ष्ण्ये इति निवृत्तम्।

It is *aprāptē*, since there is no *anuvṛtti* to *ābhīkṣṇyē* here.

तृन्नादीनां विभाषा

Doubt in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā tṛn - anna - tīkṣṇaśuciṣu* (6, 2, 161).

तृन्नादीनां विभाषा प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः।

There is doubt in the *vibhāṣā* with reference to *tṛn* etc. whether it is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते कथं वाप्राप्ते कथमुभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

आक्रोशे इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *Ākrōśē ca* (6, 2, 158) it is *prāptē*; it is *aprāptē* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *ubhayatra* through *paravipratiṣēdha.*

अप्राप्ते, आक्रोशे इति निवृत्तम् ।

It is *aprāptē*, since there is no *anuvṛtti* here to *ākrōśē.*

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम्

Doubt in *Ēkahalādāu pūrayitavyēsnyatarasyām* (6, 3, 59).

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether *anyatarasyām* in the *sūtra Ēka-halādāu...* (6, 3, 59) is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्रवाप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *Udakasyōdaḥ saṁjñāyām* (6, 3, 57); it is *prāptē* ; it is *aprāptē* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *ubha-yatra* through *paravipratiṣēdha.*

अप्राप्ते, संज्ञायामिति निवृत्तम् ।

It is *aprāptē,* since there is no *anuvṛtti* for the word *saṁjñāyām*.

श्वादेरिञि पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम्

Doubt in *Padāntasyānyatarasyām* (7, 3, 9) after the *sūtra Śvādēr iñi* (7, 3, 8).

श्वादेरिञि पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt with reference to *anyatarasyām* in the *sūtra Padāntasya...* (7, 3, 9) after *Śvādēr iñi* (7, 3, 8), whether it is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते कथं वाप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

इञीति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If there is *anuvṛtti* of *iñi*, it is *prāptē*; through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* it is *aprāptē* and through *paravipratiṣēdha* it is *ubhayatra*.

अप्राप्ते, इञीति निवृत्तम् ।

It is *aprāptē*, since there is no *anuvṛtti* to *iñi*

सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा

Doubt with reference to *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Sapūrvāyāḥ prathamāyā vibhāṣā* (8, 1, 26).

सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Sapūrvāyāḥ...* (8, 1, 26) is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*. *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

चादिभिर्योगे इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken in association of *ca* etc. mentioned in the *sūtra Na cavāhāhāivayuktē* (8, 1, 24), it is *prāptē* and otherwise it is *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

अप्राप्ते, चादिभिर्योगे इति निवृत्तम् ।

It is *aprāptē*, since there is no *anuvṛtti* to *cavāhāhāivayuktē*.

ग्रो यङि अचि विभाषा

Doubt in the *sūtra Aci vibhāṣā* (8, 2, 21) following the *sūtra Grō yaṅi* (8, 2, 20).

ग्रो यङि अचि विभाषा प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Aci vibhāṣā* following the *sūtra Grō yaṅi* is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते कथं वा अप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

यङीति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते, उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with the *sūtra Acō yaṅi*, it is *prāptē*; otherwise it is *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

अप्राप्ते, यङीति निवृत्तम् ।

It is *aprāptē*, since there is no *anuvṛtti* to *yaṅi*.

प्राप्ते च

Prāptē vibhāṣā commences.

इदमुत्तरं या विभाषा अनुक्रमिष्यामः प्राप्ते ता द्रष्टव्याः ।

The *vibhāṣās* mentioned hereafter should be considered to be *prāptē*.

त्रिसंशयास्तु भवन्ति प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

They are liable to be interpreted in three ways, whether they are *prāptē-vibhāṣās, aprāptē-vibhāṣās* or *ubhayatra-vibhāṣās*.

विभाषा विप्रलापे

Doubt in *Vibhāṣā vipralāpē.*

विभाषा विप्रलापे प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā vipralāpē* (1, 3, 50) is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

कथं च प्राप्ते कथं वा अप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or or *ubhayatra* ?

व्यक्तवाचामिति नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

It is *prāptē* when that *sūtra* is taken along with *Vyaktavācām samuccāraṇē* (1, 3, 48), it is *aprāptē* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *ubhayatra* through *paravipratiṣēdha.*

प्राप्ते, व्यक्तवाचामिति हि वर्तते ।

It is *prāptē,* there is *anuvṛtti* to *vyaktavācām.*

विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने

Doubt in *vibhāṣā upapadēna pratīyamānē.*

विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣōpapadēna pratīyamānē* (1, 3, 77).

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

स्वरितञितः इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अथवा प्राप्ते, उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *Svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* (1, 3, 72), it is *prāptē* ; it is *aprāpte* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *ubhayatra* through *paravipratiṣēdha.*

प्राप्ते, स्वरितञितः इति हि वर्तते ।

It is *praptē*, since there is *anuvṛtti* to *svaritañitaḥ*.

तिरोऽन्तर्धौ, विभाषा कृञि

Doubt in *Vibhāṣā kṛñi* after the *sūtra Tirōntardhāu* (1, 4, 71).

तिरोन्तर्धौ विभाषा कृञि प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā kṛñi* (1, 4, 72) after the *sūtra Tirōsntardhāu* is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *praptē, apraptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

अन्तर्धाविति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *Tirōntardhāu*, it is *prāptē*; it is *aprāptē* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *ubhayatra* through *paravipratiṣēdha*.

प्राप्ते, अन्तर्धाविति हि वर्तते ।

It is *prāptē*, since there is *anuvṛtti* to *antardhāu*.

अधिरीश्वरे, विभाषा कृञि

Doubt in *Vibhāṣā kṛñi* after *Adhir īśvarē*.

अधिरीश्वरे, विभषा कृञि, प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt in the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣā kṛñi* (1, 4, 98) following the *sūtra Adhir īśvarē* (1, 4, 97) whether it is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

In which circumstances is it *prāptē, apraptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

ईश्वर इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते, उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with the *sūtra Adhir īśvarē* it is *prāptē*; it is *aprāptē* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *ubhayatra* through *paravipratiṣēdha*.

प्राप्ते, ईश्वरे इति वर्तते ।

It is *prāptē*, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *īśvarē*.

दिवस्तदर्थस्य, विभाषोपसर्गे

Doubt in *Vibhāṣōpasargē* after *Divas tadarthasya*.

दिवस्तदर्थस्य, विभाषोपसर्गे प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt in the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣōpasargē* (2, 3, 59) following the *sūtra Divas tadarthasya* (2, 3, 58) whether it is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra?*

तदर्थस्येति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते, उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *divas tadarthasya* it is *prāptē*; it is *aprāptē* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *ubhayatra* through *paravipratiṣēdha*.

प्राप्ते, तदर्थस्य इति हि वर्तते ।

It is *prāptē*, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *tadarthasya*.

उभयत्र च

Ubhayatra vibhāṣā commences.

इत उत्तरं या विभाषा अनुक्रमिष्यामः, उभयत्र ता द्रष्टव्याः ।

The *vibhāṣās* mentioned hereafter should be considered to be *ubhayatra*.

त्रिसंशयास्तु भवन्ति, प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

They are liable to be interpreted in three ways, whether they are *prāptē vibhāṣā, aprāptē vibhāṣā* or *ubhayatra vibhāṣā.*

हृक्रोरन्यतरस्याम्

Doubt in *hṛkrōr anyatarasyām.*

हृक्रोरन्यतरस्यां प्राप्ते, अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is *doubt* whether *anyatarasyām* in the *sūtra Hṛkrōr anyatarasyām* (1, 4, 53) is *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra* ?

गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता स णौ इति नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *Gati-buddhi-pratyavasānārtha-śabdakarma-akarmakāṇām aṇi kartā sa ṇāu* (1, 4, 52), it is *prāptē* ; otherwise it is *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

उभयत्र—प्राप्ते तावत्, अभ्यवहारयति सैन्धवान्, अभ्यवहारयति सैन्धवैः; विकारयति सैन्धवान्, विकारयति सैन्धवैः ।

It is *ubhayatra.* When it is first *prāptē* (i. e.) when *gati* and *pratyavasāna* are taken here by *anuvṛtti* from the previous *sūtra*, this *sūtra* admits the effect of the previous *sūtra* and enjoins in *addition* the *tṛtīyā* to the actual doer of the action, as in *abhyavahārayati sāindhavān* (he makes horses eat), *abhyavahārayati sāindhavāih* (he makes it eaten through horses); *vikārayati sāindhavān* (he makes salt change), *vikārayati sāindhavāiḥ* (he makes it changed thro' salt)

Note : The root *hṛ* with the prepositions *abhi* and *ava* means *to eat* and the root *hṛ* with the preposition *vi* means *to go.*

अप्राप्ते—हरति भारं देवदत्तः, हारयति भारं देवदत्तं, हारयति भारं देवदत्तेन ; करोति कटं देवदत्तः, कारयति कट देवदत्तं, कारयति कटं देवदत्तेन ।

When it is *aprāptē* (i.e) when there is no *anuvṛtti* for *gati* and *pratyavasāna* from the previous *sūtra*, the following forms alone are sanctioned by this *sūtra—hārayati bhāram Dēvadattam, hārayati bhāram Dēvadattēna*; *kārayati kaṭam Dēvadattam, kārayati kaṭam Dēvadattēna* corresponding to simple active forms *harati bhāram Dēvadattaḥ* and *karōti kaṭam Dēvadattaḥ.*

न यदि, विभाषा साकाङ्क्षे

Doubt in *Vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣē* after the *sūtra Na yadi.*

न यदि, विभाषा साकाङ्क्षे, प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt with reference to *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣē* (3, 2, 114) after the *sūtra Na yadi* (3, 2, 113) whether it is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

कथं च प्राप्ते कथं वाप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē, aprāptē* or *ubhayatra?*

यदि इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वाप्राप्ते, उभयत्र वेति ।

If there is *anuvṛtti* to *yadi* (of the previous *sūtra,*) it is *prāptē* and otherwise it is *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra.*

उभयत्र

It is *ubhayatra.*

प्राप्ते तावत्—अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेषु वत्स्यामः, यत् कश्मीरेषु अवसाम, यत् तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे, यत्तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि ।

When it is first *prāptē,* we have the following expressions sanctioned by this *sūtra :—abhijānāsi Dēvadatta yat kaśmīrēṣu vatsyāmaḥ, yat tatra ōdanam bhōkṣyāmahē* and *abhijānāsi Dēvadatta yat kaśmīrēṣu avasāma, yat tatra ōdanam abhuñjmahi.*

अप्राप्ते — अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, कश्मीरान् अगच्छाम, तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि ।

When it is *aprāptē*, it sanctions the following forms :— *abhijānāsi Dēvadatta kaśmīrān gamiṣyāmaḥ tatra ōdanam bhōkṣyāmahē* and *abhijānāsi Dēvadatta kaśmīrān agacchāma tatra ōdanam abhuñjmahi*.

विभाषा श्वेः

Doubt in *Vibhāṣā śvēḥ*.

विभाषा श्वेः प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Vibhāṣa śvēḥ* is *praptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra ?*

किति इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

It is *prāptē* if it is taken along with *vaci......kiti* and otherwise it is *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

उभयत्र

It is *ubhayatra*.

प्राप्ते तावत् शुशुवतुः शुशुवुः शिश्वयतुः शिश्वियुः ।

If it is first *prāptē*, the following forms are formed :— *śuśuvatuḥ, śuśuvuḥ, śiśvayatuḥ, śiśviyuḥ*.

अप्राप्ते — शुशाव शुशुविथ शिश्वाय शिश्वयिथ ।

When it is *aprāptē*, the following forms are formed :— *śuśāva*, *śuśuvitha, śiśvāya* and *śiśvayitha*.

विभाषा संघुषास्वनाम्

Doubt in *vibhāṣā* with reference to *saṅghuṣ* and *āsvan*

संपूर्वाद्घुषेः प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* in *ghuṣ* with *sam* mentioned in the *sūtra Ruṣyama-tvara-saṅghuṣāsvanām* (7, 2, 28) which follows the *sūtra Vā dānta* ... (7, 2, 27) it is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वा अप्राप्ते कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra ?*

घुषिरविशब्दने इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति ।

If it is taken along with *Ghuṣir-aviśabdanē* (7, 2, 23) it is *prāptē* and otherwise it is *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

उभयत्र

It is *ubhayatra*.

प्राप्ते तावत् – सङ्घुष्टा रज्जुः, सङ्घुषिता रज्जुः ।

When there is *anuvṛtti* for *aviśabdanē* in the *sūtra Ruṣyama...saṅghuṣ*...(7, 2, 28), the *vibhāṣā* is *prāptē* so that the forms *saṅghuṣṭā* and *saṅghuṣitā* in the following expressions *saṅghuṣṭā rajjuḥ, saṅghuṣitā rajjuḥ* are obtained.

अप्राप्ते संघुष्टं वाक्यमाह, संघुषितं वाक्यमाह ।

If there is no *anuvṛtti* for *aviśabdanē* in the same *sūtra*, the *vibhāṣā* is *aprāptē* so that the forms *saṅghuṣṭam* and *saṅghuṣitam* in the expressions *saṅghuṣṭam vākyam āha*, *saṅghuṣitam vākyam āha*.

आङ्पूर्वात्स्वनेः प्राप्ते अप्राप्ते उभयत्र वेति सन्देहः ।

There is doubt whether the *vibhāṣā* with reference to *svan* with *ā* is *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

कथं च प्राप्ते, कथं वाप्राप्ते, कथं वोभयत्र ?

Under which circumstances is it *prāptē*, *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra ?*

मनसि इति वा नित्ये प्राप्ते, अन्यत्र वा अप्राप्ते, उभयत्र वेति ।

If there is *anuvṛtti* for the word *manas* from the *sūtra Kṣubdha-svānta-dhvānta...mantha-manas-tamaḥ...*(7, 2, 18) in the *sūtra Ruṣyama-tvara-saṅghuṣ-āsvanām* (7, 2, 28), it is *prāptē* and otherwise it is *aprāptē* or *ubhayatra*.

उभयत्र

It is *ubhayatra*.

प्राप्ते तावत्, आस्वन्तं मनः, आस्वनितं मनः ।

If it is first *prāptē*, the forms *āsvantam* and *āsvanitam* in the expressions *āsvantam manaḥ* and *āsvanitam manaḥ* are got.

अप्राप्ते, आस्वान्तो देवदत्तः, आस्वानितो देवदत्तः इति ।

If it is *aprāptē*, the forms *āsvāntaḥ* and *āsvanitaḥ* in the expressions *āsvāntō Dēvadattaḥ*, *āsvanitō Dēvadattaḥ* are got.

SIXTH ĀHNIKA ENDS.

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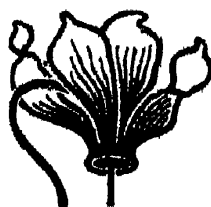
CORRIGENDA

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
4	23	*Mahābāṣyakāra*	*Mahābhāṣyakāra*
6	2	Insert *Na* after *sūtra*	
11	5	*maghadhakaḥ*	*magadhakaḥ*
14	9	*paribhāsa*	*paribhāṣā*
19	12	परेत्वन	परत्वेन
20	29	*yāṅō*	*yaṅō*
25	1	suggest	suggests
	5	*jhaladi*	*jhalādi*
	6	consonont	consonant
29	22	If	It
38	17	*saṁyōgāntāu*	*saṁyōgāu antāu*
39	14	*anvartasaṁjñā*	*anvarthasaṁjñā*
41	19	*saṁōga*	*saṁyōga*
42	15	वाज्विवधेः	वाज्विधेः
45	23	*saṁgōgādi*	*saṁyōgādi*
	25	*yaṇataḥ*	*yaṇvataḥ*
50	6	componnd	compound
51	4	*dvītīyaḥ*	*dvitīyaḥ*
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149	10	*pūrṇamāsī*	*pāurṇamāsī*
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